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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO AREA—Part 1

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

DECEMBER 1, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1954

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October 16, 1950
* 9535 4A472
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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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EXHIBITS

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- Rosser Exhibit No. 2.—Two Decades, published by the Communist Party, September 1939 (see pp. 3059 and 3060).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 3.—The Young Communist League Lantern, news sheet dated December 9, 1938 (see p. 3062).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 4.—New York Herald Tribune, June 14, 1932, page 16, article, "22 Negroes Sail Today to Work on Soviet Film," (see pp. 3064 and 3065).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 5.—San Francisco Workers' School, announcement of courses spring term, May 31, 1934 (see pp. 3074-3078).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 6.—"Why Communism?" pamphlet by M. J. Olgin (retained in committee files).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 7.—Young Communists in Action, pamphlet published in 1934 by the Young Communist League (retained in committee files).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 8.—The Communist, May 1934, pages 444 and 445, resolution of the eighth national convention of the Communist Party, Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934 (see p. 3099).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 9.—Communist Party of Los Angeles County resolutions and proposals adopted at convention, March 27 and 28, 1937 (see pp. 3106-3111).
- Rosser Exhibit No. 10.—Communist Party of California, proceedings of convention, May 14 and 15, 1938 (see pp. 3112 and 3113).
- Donald Niven Wheeler Exhibit No. 1.—San Francisco Call-Bulletin, November 18, 1953, page 9, article entitled, "Dairy Farmer Scores Listing as Spy Suspect" (see p. 3143).

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO AREA—Part 1

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
San Francisco, Calif.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a. m., in the hearing room of the board of supervisors, city hall, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, investigator; and Juliette P. Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that acting under the authority of the resolution establishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I have set up a subcommittee for the purpose of conducting hearings in the city of San Francisco, composed of the following members: the Honorable Donald L. Jackson from California, the Honorable Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio, the Honorable Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri, the Honorable Clyde Doyle of California, and myself, Harold Velde, as chairman.

I understand that Mr. Moulder is on his way to San Francisco by plane and will be here for tomorrow's hearings.

The committee is charged by the Congress of the United States with the responsibility of investigating the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States and diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries, or of a domestic origin, and attacks the principles of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution and all other questions in relation thereto that will aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

It has been fully established by testimony before this and other congressional committees, as well as the courts of our land, that the Communist Party of the United States is part of an international conspiracy which is being used as a tool or a weapon by a foreign power to promote its own foreign policy and which has for its object the overthrow of the governments of all non-Communist countries, resorting to the use of force and violence if necessary. This organization cannot live and expand within the United States except by the promulgation and diffusion of subversive and un-American propaganda designed to win adherents to its cause.

This committee, therefore, has conducted extensive investigations of industrial and defense areas in many parts of the country for the

purpose of ascertaining the true nature, extent, character, and objects of Communist Party activities.

District No. 13 of the Communist Party is comprised of the State of California, other States, and the Territory of Hawaii. Extensive investigations in the Territory of Hawaii and in southern California have resulted in the ascertainment of important and extensive information which should be of great aid to the Congress of the United States in dealing with this difficult problem and in providing to the Congress of the United States information necessary to the enactment of remedial legislation. It is the purpose of this investigation to ascertain the nature, extent, character, and objects of Communist infiltration in the Bay area where there is a great concentration of defense industry and where the headquarters of District No. 13 of the Communist Party are maintained. This investigation, unlike those conducted in the Territory of Hawaii and southern California, is not concentrated upon a single industry or enterprise. For the time being the work of the committee will be of a more general character.

Many witnesses have appeared before this committee, sitting in various places throughout the United States, who have revealed their experiences as former Communist Party members. Such testimony has added immeasurably to the sum total of the knowledge, character, extent, and objects of Communist activities in this country.

Witnesses from Hollywood, labor unions, the legal profession, medical profession, and other groups have made a great contribution to the defense of our country by disclosing to this committee facts within their knowledge.

In the view of this committee, such testimony should not be held against an individual where it has that character of trustworthiness which convinces one that the witness has completely and finally terminated Communist Party membership and that such testimony has been given in all good faith.

The committee is not concerned with the political beliefs or opinions of any witness who has been called before it. It is concerned only with the facts showing the extent, character, and objects of the Communist Party activities. By the same token the Congress is not concerned with disputes between management and labor nor intralabor controversies. It has the single purpose of disclosing subversive propaganda activities and machinations of the conspiracy whenever and wherever there is reason to believe it exists.

In keeping with the longstanding policy of this committee, any individual or organization mentioned during the course of the hearings in such a manner as to adversely affect them shall have an opportunity to appear subsequently before the committee for the purpose of making a denial or explanation of any adverse inferences.

I would also like at this time, before the beginning of these hearings, to make this announcement to the public: We are here at the direction of the Congress of the United States, in the discharge of a duty and obligation that has been placed upon us. The public is here by permission of the committee and not by compulsion. Any attempt or effort on the part of anyone to create a demonstration or make audible comment in this hearing room, either favorably or unfavorably, toward the committee's undertaking, or to what any witness may have to say, will not be countenanced by the committee. If such conduct should occur, the officers on duty will be requested to eject the offenders from the hearing room.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Call your first witness, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Louis Rosser, will you come forward, please.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROSSER. I will.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS ROSSER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. ROSSER. Louis Rosser.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell your name?

Mr. ROSSER. R-o-s-s-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell your first name?

Mr. ROSSER. L-o-u-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Rosser?

Mr. ROSSER. April 14, 1906, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. ROSSER. Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in California?

Mr. ROSSER. Since 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your educational training has been? I am speaking now of your formal educational training, not Communist Party training.

Mr. ROSSER. I finished high school, and I had a half a year at Sacramento Junior College and one year at UCLA.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your year of work at UCLA?

Mr. ROSSER. February 1926.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time were you a member?

Mr. ROSSER. I was a member of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League from 1932 to December 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a Communist Party member?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, during the depression in southern California I was unable to get a job, and there was quite a bit of discrimination against Negro people, and going around I used to hear the Communists speak on street corners, and I listened to them. Finally, I found out that one of my friends, a Negro student named Harry Williams, was a member of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, and I discussed it with him, and he took me to a Communist Party class.

At that time I didn't know it was a class, and in the class they discussed economics, how to fight against discrimination against Negroes and how to get a job, and in that class also we discussed how the leaders of America used religion to lull Negroes to sleep, and in that

discussion I finally made up my mind that the place for me was the Communist Party, so I joined the Communist Party, and I was assigned to the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. That, as I understand, was in 1932?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later occupy positions of leadership in the Young Communist League in California and the United States?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes. I started as literature agent in the Young Communist League. I was the organizer of a Young Communist League unit. I was the educational director for Los Angeles County of the Young Communist League. I was the acting president of Los Angeles County for the Young Communist League. I was a member of the county committee of the Young Communist League of Los Angeles County. I was a member of the State committee of the Young Communist League of Los Angeles County, and I was a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence a document which is entitled "New Frontiers," published in 1937 by the California Young Communist League. It carries pictures of "our leaders," one of whom is Lou Rosser, and there is a brief description given of Lou Rosser in this document, in which it says he is—

Now county educational director. Made his reputation as president of the South Side Branch. Ran for State assembly in the 1936 elections.

Mr. Rosser, in running for the 1936 election as State assemblyman, did you run as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER (reading):

YCL representative to the Los Angeles Youth Survey Commission, national council member.

I ask that the document be designated as "Rosser Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. VELDE. You ask that it be introduced into the record, counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be introduced into the record at this point.

(Photostat of document entitled "New Frontiers" was received as Rosser exhibit No. 1.)¹

Mr. TAVENNER. That document states, does it not, in substance what you have just testified to about your official position in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I also desire to introduce in evidence a part of a publication entitled "Two Decades of Progress," published by the Communist Party of the United States. Page 29 relates to the Communist Party organization of the 14th Congressional District of the State of California. It bears a picture of Lou Rosser, and it gives the names of the members of the section executive committee.

It is true, is it not, Mr. Rosser, that the organizational setup of the Communist Party was in accordance with congressional districts and assembly districts?

Mr. ROSSER. At that time it was true. This was for election purposes.

¹ Retained in the files of the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer page 29 of the document in evidence and ask that it be marked Exhibit Rosser No. 2."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted.

(Document entitled "Two Decades of Progress," p. 29, was received in evidence as Rosser exhibit No. 2.)

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 2

Twenty Years of Growth and Progress
of the
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.



COMMUNIST PARTY, LOS ANGELES COUNTY

PETTIS PERRY, Chairman

PAUL CLINE, Executive Secretary

MAX SILVER, Organizational Secretary

MATT PELMAN, Educational Director

AL BRYAN, Legislative Director

HELEN GARDNER, Membership Director

— September, 1939 —

124 West Sixth Street

Michigan 8052



14th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

2308 Griffith Avenue

SECTION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Lou Rosser

Lou Rosser, Organizer
 Leona McGenty, Org.-Sec'y.
 Margaret Nelson, Membership Dir.
 Libby Corngold, Trade Union Dir.

Dave Himelstein
 Carl Brant
 Pettis Perry
 Adele Young
 Schrier

The Communist Party Branches of the 14th Congressional District bring to our Party on its 20th Anniversary greetings of 20 years of struggle for labor's rights and Negro rights; for democracy, peace and socialism.

The 14th C.D. is an important working class district of Los Angeles County. Approximately 70% of the unemployed live in this territory, 90% of the Negro people live here, the ratio of small business people to large decidedly favors the small, most of Los Angeles Union men meet here. 90% of the slum dwellings are standing in our Congressional district.

Here the conditions for the broadest and most healthy political unity are present. There are probably more peoples organizations meeting in the 14 C.D. than in any other district in Southern California. These organizations range from simple social clubs and businessmen's associations to trade union and our Party Branches.

The Executive Committee and the Branches of our Party in the 14th Congressional District pledge to continue the rich traditions of struggle for democracy and freedom in this District and to build and strengthen the Party so it can fulfill its historic role.

44 A.D. East Branch, Schrier, Organizer ———
 44 A.D. West Branch, Sam Title, Organizer
 44 A.D. North Branch, Frances Wintner, Organizer
 55 A.D. Branch, Delda Wennrick, Organizer
 62 A.D. Branch, Wm. Nelson, Organizer. Headquarters—2308 Griffith Avenue

Fredrick Douglass Branch
 64 East Assembly Branch, Paul Williams, Organizer, Phone MU. 9486
 64 West Assembly Branch
 Finnish Branch
 Mexican Branch
 Warehouse Branch
 Japanese Branch
 Clerks Branch
 Hungarian Branch
 Utilities Branch

(Part 2)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the document, please, and state whose names appear as the various officers?

Mr. ROSSER. Lou Rosser—that is myself—the organizer; Leona McGenty, the organizational secretary—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that name, please?

Mr. ROSSER. L-e-o-n-a M-c-G-e-n-t-y, the organizational secretary; Margaret Nelson, the membership director. She was the wife of Steve Nelson. Libby Corngold—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that name?

Mr. ROSSER. L-i-b-b-y C-o-r-n-g-o-l-d, the trade-union director.

Dave Himelstein, H-i-m-e-l-s-t-e-i-n, he was a member of the executive committee; Carl Brant, C-a-r-l B-r-a-n-t, he was a member of the executive committee; Pettis Perry, he was a member of the executive committee and the State chairman of the Communist Party of California; Adele Young, a member of the executive committee; and Schrier, a member of the executive committee.

I had at that time under my jurisdiction, beside the Communist Party branches in the 14th assembly district, the 44th, the 55th, the 62d, and the 64th. I had under my jurisdiction at that time the Mexican branch, the Japanese branch, the Hungarian branch, the Finnish branch, warehouse branch, the clerks branch, and the utilities branch. Those last three were trade-union branches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those were branches of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly the importance of any of the members of your group as acquired in the later development of the Communist Party in the United States? You mentioned, for instance, a person by the name of Pettis Perry. Will you tell the committee what Pettis Perry has done?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, Pettis Perry is a top, well-educated Communist Party functionary. Pettis Perry worked in southern California; he was a member of the county committee, head of the Negro commission. He was on the State committee of the Communist Party of California, the chairman of the Los Angeles County committee and a member of the State committee. He was on the national committee of the Communist Party, and he acted at the time as head of the Communist Party of America.

Leona McGenty was head of the professional section for the unemployed movement which included doctors, teachers, scientists, unemployed scientists, unemployed actors, unemployed writers, and so forth.

Libby Corngold was a trade-union leader, a Communist trade-union leader of the textile industry.

Adele Young was the top State leader of the women and a Negro woman.

Carl Brant came from the unemployed actors, and he developed into a top Communist organizer in the trade-union movement, the Electrical Workers of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is sufficient. I desire to introduce in evidence a photostatic copy of a news sheet entitled "The Lantern," and ask that it be marked "Rosser Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted.

(Photostat of document entitled "The League Lantern" was received in evidence as Rosser exhibit No. 3.)

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 3



Our "Line for '39" - 100 Percent Registration

The advent of the month of December, besides heralding the arrival of winter and the merry year-end holiday season, reminds us it is time for the YCL to take inventory; inventory of its most precious stock - its members.

It is the time, as the walrus said, when the YCL gets back the members who haven't been coming around for some time; it is the time when dues are paid up all around and every YCLer gets his new YCL membership book.

These next few weeks are designated as our registration weeks, during which time we must register every YCLer who either registered in 1938 or was recruited during the year.

There is a tremendous amount of very hard work that our league has to do to better the conditions of the young people. Each additional person in our league means that much more that we will be able to accomplish.

Every branch member is urged to cooperate to the fullest extent with the registration committee in his particular branch as his part in helping the YCL start the new year with a grand flourish - A 100% REGISTRATION WILL BE FINE IN '39!!

Read the "Review"

Our salute to Karl Marx branch, newest in L.A. County. When considering a choice of names for the branch, they said, "If we take the name of Karl Marx, it will HAVE TO BE THE BEST BRANCH IN THE COUNTY. So, they took it, and will bear watching. LeRoy Parra is Pres., Alice Sal-Gade, Secretary.

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION PROPOSED.

IN keeping with the unceasing, forward surge of time and progress it has been found necessary to make certain important changes in the constitution of the L.A. County YCL. Consequently the County Board is submitting the proposed changes to the members of the various branches to be voted upon.

Beginning December 5 and continuing until the 19th, discussion will be carried on in the branches. On December 19, the County Board will meet to consider proposed amendments from the branches. December 19 to January 1 will be given over to balloting on the Constitution as amended. From January 1-14, branches will hold nominations for County Officers and members at large.

A large county conference will be held on January 15 to consider the nominations. January 16-22 will be given over to discussion of candidates. On the 22nd there will be a membership meeting and balloting.

The YCL has as its main job at present to do all in its power to help the unity of our generation so that it may better fight for its needs. Along with this we have the task of helping the young people and their organizations take the steps towards progressive political action and organization. We can

(continued on page 2)

Lou Rosser Goes to BIG CITY

Many comrades have been missing the cheerful presence of our Exec. Sec'y Lou Rosser, but not all of us know just what has happened to our Lou.

Well, he has received one of the most wonderful opportunities that can be given to any YCLer - six months at the National Party Training School under the best instructors the party has - in Gotham, that burg just across the river from Hoboken.

The one thing Lou wants from us now is mail - he wants to hear from all of us. N.Y. is pretty far from L.A. and Lou's heart is yet with the L.A. League.

Drop him a line thru the County Office - tell him what your branch is doing, what's happening in your neighborhood - and we are sure that you all join in wishing Lu a happy and profitable six months.

Read the "Review"

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the publication or news sheet The Lantern?

Mr. ROSSER. It was put out by one of the Young Communist League groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read only this portion of the document. The document describes Lou Rosser's going to the big city and states as follows:

Well, he has received one of the most wonderful opportunities that can be given to any YCLer—6 months at the national party training school under the best instructors the party has.

I will not ask you at this time to explain the importance of the Young Communist League in the Communist Party plan. I will ask you questions relating to that later on in your testimony. But I think the committee should understand at this time what your training has been in both the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, preparatory to the work that you were to perform in the Communist Party.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, in the Young Communist League my training was, first I went to discussion groups, and the Young Communist League takes up the same pamphlets and books that the Communist Party takes up. In my discussion groups I took up What Is To Be Done, which was by Lenin, which is a book that deals with the value of theory, understanding the Communist teachings, and I studied Imperialism by Lenin in discussion groups.

I studied State and Revolution, The Negro Question, and then after these discussion groups I was sent to the county school of the Communist Party of Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you a moment. I am asking you this question about your training not only to show what training you have received, but to inform the committee of the type of training that is usually given to those who are selected for leadership in the Communist Party, so I would like for your testimony to embrace not only your own personal training, but the Communist Party plan for training its leaders.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the plan, as I said, I was selected among 25 or more Communist and Young Communist League organizers and functionaries to attend a county school set up by the county committee of the Communist Party to train Communist leaders in the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Stalin.

At this county school I was taught the principles of communism, trade-union problems, the Negro question, agitation, and propaganda, how to write leaflets, how to speak on street corners, how to make speeches, Communist speeches, and party organization, how the party functions, and then I went back to work, and after working I was selected by the State committee and the county committee of the Communist Party to attend the State school of the Communist Party.

At the State school of the Communist Party, where they had trade-unionists, people from the unemployed movement, housewives, people who worked in YWCA's, people from front groups, Communist Party group leaders, we took up the problem of the State revolution, dialectical materialism, Peters' Manual, which is a manual put out by the national committee of the Communist Party on the program of the Communist Party on party organizations, on the aim of the Communist Party, on how to organize the Communist Party, or how to

build Communist Party groups and cells within the basic industries, the big unions and the organizations of the people, and we also at this school, the State school had the leaders of the State committee. The State executive committee of California were some of the lecturers, William Schneiderman; Oleta O'Conner Yates lectured; Matt Crawford lectured on the Negro question.

By the way, Matt Crawford is ranking Negro Communist who in 1932 went to Russia under the pretext of making a motion picture. At that time the Communists in America rounded up a group of top-flight young Negro intellectuals and convinced them to go to Russia to make a motion picture of the conditions of Negroes here in America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. I desire to offer in evidence and have marked as Exhibit Rosser No. 4 a photostatic copy of an issue of the New York Herald Tribune of June 14, 1932, describing the sailing of 22 Negroes to work on Soviet films.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted at this point.

(Photostat of pages of New York Herald Tribune of June 14, 1932, was received in evidence as Rosser Exhibit No. 4.)

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 4

[New York Herald Tribune, June 14, 1932, p. 16]

22 NEGROES SAIL TODAY TO WORK ON SOVIET FILM

Some of the Scenes Will be Made in Cotton District of Russian Turkestan
United States History is Subject

Several Have Had No Previous Stage Experience

A group of 22 American Negroes will start out from Brooklyn tonight aboard the *Bremen* on their way to Moscow, where during the next 5 months they will be employed as actors in a motion-picture drama which will interpret the historical development of the Negro in the United States from the time of the Civil War. According to the group's contract, the Negroes will pay their way to Moscow but while they are on "the lot" they will each receive 400 to 600 rubles a month; then they will receive a free passage home.

The Negroes will be employed by the Meschrahpom Film Corp. of Moscow, which produced *The Diary of a Revolutionist*, now being shown here at the Cameo.

COMMITTEE SELECTED

At the suggestion of the company, a committee of Negroes and other Americans interested in the theater and in writing was formed to select the personnel of the cast. This committee called itself the cooperative committee for the production of a Soviet film on the Negro in America. A number of the Negroes named by this body have never had stage experience, but the Moscow company has informed them that did not matter. Moscow, it reported, did not put the same sort of qualifications on its star as Hollywood. The Russians wanted "representative Negroes."

Henry Lee Moon, a reporter on the Amsterdam News who will be one of the players, said the group had been selected from a cultural and not a political standpoint. "So far as I know," Moon said yesterday, "there is only one Communist in the party."

Moon said "realistic picturization of the Negro at work and play was the aim of the film. The scenario will avoid the sentimentality and buffoonery with which the usual Hollywood production on the Negro is burdened. I do not know what the plot will be, but I have heard that the scenario has been finished. It has been written by a German, a Russian and by Lovett Whiteman, an American Negro now in Russia." Whiteman, a teacher of mathematics and chemistry in the new Little Red School for sons of American engineers in Moscow, is a graduate of Columbia University. He studied the drama here and went to Russia about 5 years ago.

THOSE MAKING THE TRIP

The following will make the trip:

- Alberga, Laurence, Ohio, of 470 West 146th Street, agricultural worker.
 Crawford, Matthew, of Berkeley, Calif., insurance clerk.
 Garner, Sylvia, of 250 West 136th Street, singer and actress, who appeared with Ethel Barrymore in Scarlet Sister Mary.
 Hill, Leonard, of 1461 W Street NW., Washington, social worker.
 Hughes, Langston, poet, playwright, novelist, author of Not Without Laughter.
 Jenkins, Katherine, of 435 Convent Avenue, social worker.
 Jones, Mildred, of 615 Caldwell Street, Newberry, S. C., art student.
 Lewis, Juanita, of 247 West 143d Street, singer and dramatic reader and member of Hall Johnson Negro Choir.
 Lewis, Mollie, of 43 West 66th Street, student at Teachers' College, Columbia.
 Lewis, Thurston McNairy, of 1851 Seventh Avenue, actor, member of cast of "Ham's Daughters."
 McKenzie, Allen, of 112 38th Avenue, Corona, Queens, salesman.
 Miller, Loren, of 837 East 24th Street, Los Angeles, city editor of The California Eagle.
 Montero, Frank C., of 287 East 55th Street, Brooklyn, student at Howard University, Washington.
 Moon, Henry Lee, reporter, the Amsterdam News.
 Patterson, Lloyd, of Westfield, N. J., paperhanger.
 Poston, Theodore R., of 2293 7th Avenue, reporter on the Amsterdam News.
 Rudd, Wayland, of 205 West 115th Street, actor, member of the casts of the Emperor Jones, Othello, Porgy and in Abraham's Bosom.
 Sample, George, Binghamton, N. Y., student at Fordham.
 Smith, Homer, of Minneapolis, clerical worker.
 Thompson, Louise, of 435 Convent Avenue, research assistant in labor problems.
 West, Dorothy, of 43 West 66th Street, short-story writer and member of cast of Porgy.

White, Constance, of Hoburn, Mass., student and social worker.

The group will proceed from Bremen to Stettin, where they will board a Finnish steamer for Helsingfors. From there they will board another ship bound for Leningrad, where they are due June 24. Work on the film will begin on July 1. Some of the scenes will be made in the cotton-growing districts in Russian Turkestan.

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE

On the committee which selected the group were W. A. Domingo, Miss Thompson, Bessye Bearden, Prof. George S. Counts of Columbia, Malcolm Cowley, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, William H. Davis, Floyd Dell, Romeo L. Dougherty, Waldo Frank, Roland Gallin, Cecil Hope, Langston Hughes, Rose McClendon, Edna Thomas, Alan Max, Loren Miller, Charles Rumford Walker, John H. Hammond, Jr., Harry Allen Potamkin, Will Vodery, Harold Williams, Hugo Gellert and Doone Young. The Negroes expect to return to the United States about January 1.

MR. TAVENNER. What was the ostensible or the represented purpose of the Communist Party in taking these Communist Party members to the Soviet Union for the filming of a picture?

MR. ROSSER. Well, the main purpose of the Communist Party at that time was to use them to show them the workers' paradise over there, the way minorities were treated, and then to use them as propaganda material when they arrived back into America, but most of these people who went over there became disillusioned, and today some of the outstanding anti-Communists in America are these Negroes that they took over there.

One of them works for the National Urban League, and he is one of the outstanding anti-Communists we have.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

MR. JACKSON. I think it would be very well if Mr. Rosser would give us the names of those who have been active in the anti-Communist

fight. Too often I think that our hearings reflect only the names of those who have been active on behalf of the Communist Party, and I think that the name of the gentleman whom you have mentioned, together with the others, should be in the record.

Mr. VELDE. The chair concurs with the member. If the witness can remember the names of those who are active in the anti-Communist fight at the present time, we would appreciate it if you would give them to us.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, for reasons, I can only give one name. The one name that I said was the top active anti-Communist is Lee Moon, L-e-e M-o-o-n. He is on the national executive committee of the National Urban League. That is an organization that works for better relationships between all races here in America and the opening up of job opportunities.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know if any pictures were actually produced by this group that went to Russia?

Mr. ROSSER. No, they didn't make any pictures. My understanding is it broke up in squabbles, and they had to bring them home, and today there are only about 3 who are active who went: Matt Crawford, as I said, on the State committee here in California, and Louise Thompson, a Negro woman who is the secretary or executive secretary of the International Workers' Order of America.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were these films to be used, in Russia or here?

Mr. ROSSER. All over the world, especially in Africa, Asia, and the Far East, China.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know what those films were to depict?

Mr. ROSSER. The life of the Negroes in America. At that time the Communist Party slogan was national liberation of the Negroes in America, and in discussing this slogan and program the Communist Party said that the Negroes, when they were freed by the Civil War, were introduced to a new kind of slavery, legal slavery, sharecropping, and that the Negroes were denied the ownership of the land, although they farmed the land, and therefore, in order for the Negro in America to be free, he had to organize and mobilize and fight against the southern landlords and smash the plantation system, set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, Negro Soviet.

Mr. SCHERER. There wasn't any question in your mind that those pictures were to exaggerate the discriminations that do exist in this country; was there?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I would put it in another way: They weren't so much interested in the question of the Negroes in America at that time, but they were using America, heralded throughout the world as a land of democracy and freedom, and they were going to use these pictures to show the people in the Far East, the darker races, in India, on how the Negroes in America are treated and how can you trust America when they treat their own colored brothers this way.

It was to be a propaganda deal used throughout the world.

Mr. VELDE. Do you think by any stretch of the imagination that Soviet Russia was interested actually in liberating the Negroes or eliminating discrimination for the races in this country?

Mr. ROSSER. Would you say that again?

Mr. VELDE. Do you think that Soviet Russia's leaders were actually interested in liberating the Negro, as you mentioned a while ago, in the United States, or what was their chief interest?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I will say this: In my teachings and understanding the Communist Party slogan of self-determination of the Negro in the Black Belt at the 1938 world congress of the Communist International, where they discussed thoroughly the American scene, they gave to the American people this slogan—it is a slogan of rebellion, a slogan to arouse the Negroes and confuse the Negroes and to try to use them to help, and they say it is a tactic during that period, a tactic of the Communist Party to create confusion and disunity so as to weaken America and to help bring about the real aim of the Communist Party, and that is the proletarian revolution.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, the Communist Party wasn't sincerely interested in the problems in the Negro as such?

Mr. ROSSER. Oh, no.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know whether or not that policy of the Communist Party has changed as far as the American Negro is concerned, or do they still use them for purposes of encouraging rebellion?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the Communist Party policy on the Negro is tied up with the whole strategy of the Communist Party. It is just a part of it, and the policy of the Communist Party changes as conditions change.

On the Negro question, for example, during the 1930's when they said national liberation, and they called upon the Negroes to revolt, and they tried to organize and help them to revolt, during that stage the Communist Party position was that war was imminent. It would either be a war against the Soviet Union or a war between the capitalist nations, and in mobilizing and organizing the American people to fight against the war, the Negro population in America, the Negro Americans, were an important part, but they set them apart in order to try to create division, disunity, in order to weaken this country.

Their policy changes as the world situation changes. They fight for Negro rights, and the policy of the Communist Party of America is tied up with the defense of the Soviet Union. If things are running all right, the Communist Party makes partial demands for the Negroes; they take it easy. If things are going rough, and they think the Soviet Union is in danger, the Communist Party raises this slogan again of rebellion, trying to organize the Negroes to rebel.

Mr. DOYLE. That then is their present policy, the same as it was before?

Mr. ROSSER. They today are back to the slogan of national liberation of the Negro people, that they are an oppressed nation in America, and that they have a right to govern themselves, and that the only way they can do it is to smash the landlords, smash the plantation system, and set up in the South the Negro Soviet republic.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I understand your answer just then? You said the Communist Party to your knowledge plans to set up a Soviet republic in the South of Negroes?

Mr. ROSSER. That is what they told them. Of course they put a "but" there in the discussion in classes and groups of the top level of the Communist Party, and that is that the Negroes have a right to secede. That is the plan worked out by Stalin for the minorities in the Soviet Union, and they applied it to the American scene. They

have a right to secede from the American nation once they had established a Soviet America. But this right is based on how the Communists feel—what is the situation in the world toward the Soviet Union. If seceding would weaken America, then the Communist Party members, Negro and white in the South, would vote against secession. If they thought it would strengthen America, then they would go along and secede.

But I will say this: In the ranks of the Communist Party there have been big discussions on this question, and the majority of the Negro Communists have opposed this and have accused the party of attempting to segregate the Negroes once the revolution is had and they have also accused them—said that if the Negroes would rebel in the South, the rest of this country, they would shoot them down like a bunch of dogs, so you can see it is a tactic of the party.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Rosser, to what extent do you believe that the doctrine of secession and rebellion was successful at that time among the great majority of American Negroes?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, it was repudiated by the top leadership of the Negro community. The Negro community, the Negro press, came out and repudiated the whole deal, and the Negroes themselves during that time, they did not recruit too many Negroes into the Communist Party, and the Negroes saw through the whole deal. They saw that it was a maneuver of the Communist Party to infiltrate down into the Negro community to recruit and build the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. About the use of the word "rebellion," what was your understanding as a functionary of the Communist Party? Did the term connote actual armed rebellion in your opinion? Was that what was taught?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Rosser.

Mr. DOYLE. Apropos of that pertinent question by Mr. Jackson, I think you said that you taught from a book entitled "State and Revolution." Did that book, published by the Communist Party, advocate revolution by force and violence?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right. That is Lenin's development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the state.

Mr. DOYLE. Then part of your function was to teach that book by Mr. Lenin, that the time would come when it would be appropriate as part of the Soviet Communist scheme to have the American Negro use force and violence to help overthrow the constitutional government in this country; is that correct?

Mr. ROSSER. Well I wouldn't put it that way.

Mr. DOYLE. How would you put it?

Mr. ROSSER. I would put it that the basic aim of the Communist Party in America during that period that I studied that was to prepare and organize—prepare the American working class and the American people to fight against the war and that the struggle of the Communist Party for Negro rights and for liberation of the Negro people was part of this overall program of the Communist Party at that time to foment a revolution and to create the situation where, if America went to war, they would carry out Lenin's teaching and turn the war into civil war and smash, if they could, the Government of the United States. This whole program that they presented to

the Negroes and tried to organize the Negroes to push was a part of this overall program of preparing the revolution.

Mr. DOYLE. So I will understand your answer, part of this program was the eventual use of force and violence by the American Negro in a civil war, if that time arrives?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes; part of the program was—if the opportunity through fighting the landlords, for the right to sit on juries, for the right of the land, created itself—was to smash the plantation ownership. The only way you can smash it—Lenin said you had to use arms. You can't smash it with your hands. It is a question of force and violence.

Mr. DOYLE. All right; thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, were you acquainted with Manning Johnson?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I knew Manning Johnson. He was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, a Negro, who quit the Communist Party, I think, in the early forties.

Mr. TAVENNER. Manning Johnson testified on this same subject and in much the same way that you have when he appeared before this committee in 1949, and during the course of the testimony there was introduced in evidence through him as Exhibit No. 15 a map of the United States which had delineated on it those areas which were denominated the Black Belt and which was to constitute the new nation.

Will you examine this map, which appears as the frontispiece of the committee release, and state whether you observed it and were familiar with it and whether it was used in the teaching of Communist Party members by the leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, that's it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that?

Mr. ROSSER. That's it, the Black Belt. The Communist Party theory was that the Negroes were in majority down through Maryland, Mississippi, South Carolina, and the Cotton Belt where the majority of the cotton was raised, that they were in majority, that they were a nation based on the teachings of Stalin, that they had one culture, that their main occupation was farming, and they had one language, the American language, and so forth, and therefore they were a nation, and this Black Belt was where the party said that once the Negroes were successful, they had a right to set up the Negro Soviet republic.

Mr. SCHERER. In advocating that, the Communist Party functionaries in this country overlooked one thing, did they not, namely, that the Negroes were opposed to segregation, and this plan called for segregation. Wasn't that their big mistake?

Mr. ROSSER. That was the mistake, and Browder later on stated to the national committee of the Communist Party that the Negroes were for integration, and that they had made a mistake along this line, but they threw Browder out for that and a lot of other things of watered-down Marxism.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to this trip to the Soviet Union for the purpose of filming a picture, and you mentioned the name of Matt Crawford. What was Crawford's first name?

Mr. ROSSER. Matt Crawford, that is all I have ever known.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at the article and see whether or not his first name appeared in it? That is exhibit No. 4.

Mr. ROSSER. Matthew Crawford.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned the Negro question in connection with your schooling, both on the local level, the county level, the State level, and presently I am going to ask you whether you came in touch with it on a national level.

Mr. ROSSER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. But for the present we were discussing your training in the State Communist school. Where was that school conducted?

Mr. ROSSER. It was conducted here in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. You named several of those who taught. Have you named all that you can recall who taught?

Mr. ROSSER. At the present time I can't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time the names of others who took the course with you?

Mr. ROSSER. Not at the present.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned in connection with that course Peters' Manual. Who was this man Peters?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, Peters was a top trained Communist, trained in the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known as J. Peters?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, J. Peters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he also known as Alexander Stevens?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, Alexander Stevens. He worked through the national committee. He had many jobs, and this Peters' Manual is the Communist International speaking to the American people, and J. Peters prepared it for the Communist Party here in America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it may be said that this was a directive from the Communist Party in a foreign country to the Communist Party in the United States through J. Peters?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent was this manual used in your teaching and training?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, it was used, first of all—it gave us the basic aim of the Communist Party in America and the world, and the major aim of the Communist Party of the world is to overthrow capitalism and set up a world socialist state in America. That is the same thing.

It gave us the basic methods on how the Communist Party should work, that the basic industries should be the concentration point of the Communist Party here in America: steel, auto, longshore, marine, communications, transportation, like railroads—they should be the concentration point of the Communist Party; and then in Peters' Manual we were taught how to build cells and fractions within these groups, and then in there we dealt with the international solidarity of the Communist Parties throughout the world and the Negro question, the small farmers, they called these the allies of the working class and so forth.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Rosser, did this school have a name?

Mr. ROSSER. It was the State School of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. What was the location, physical location?

Mr. ROSSER. San Francisco.

Mr. VELDE. Do you remember the street address or approximately where it was?

Mr. ROSSER. I think it was at the Finnish Hall. They have a Finnish lodge or something here. I think that is what it was.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I notice, Mr. Rosser, you said that the basic industries of the United States were the concentration points of the Communist Party in this manual, Peters' Manual. Why would the Communist Party center on steel and transportation, on the basic industries of the United States? What would be their interest in centering on those?

Mr. ROSSER. Because the Communist Party follows the teachings of Lenin and Marx and Stalin, and the teachings of Lenin and Marx and Stalin, through experiences that they have had, teach them that the working class, the workers from basic industries, are the backbone of building the revolution, that they are the only class that can and will carry out a successful revolution.

Mr. SCHERER. The primary purpose being to eventually control those basic industries?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. By the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. May I interject this question then: Control for what purpose? Why would the Soviet Union want to control the basic American industries?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I think I said in the beginning that the defense of the Soviet Union was the key tactic or strategy of the Communist Parties of the world and the Communist Party of America in building the revolution because they realize that if the Soviet Union was destroyed, communism would be put back thousands of years or hundreds of years, and therefore in control of the basic industries, in case of a war. In case of a war with the Soviet Union it is possible for the party, through its teachings and understanding and strategy, to shut down these industries, sabotage.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, is it my understanding—do I understand you to testify that the purpose of the Soviet Union Communist Party in the United States is to control our basic industries so that if there should be a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, the basic industries would be directed to protect the Soviet Union instead of the United States?

Mr. ROSSER. Not only a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, but if like Hitler went to war against the Soviet Union or if England or France would go to war against the Soviet Union, it is a question of weakening this country so through control, through having Communist groups in control of the unions that operate within these industries, so that we could not send aid to those countries, and if it was ourselves at war, it would be the strategy to sabotage them, and so forth.

Mr. SCHERER. To sabotage those industries?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, you have mentioned the role and aim of the Communist Party in such a manner that I think to read from Peters' Manual would be a repetition of a lot that you have said, so I

shall not do that other than to refer to two short passages which I think, Mr. Chairman, should be read into the record.

I quote from Peters' Manual as follows:

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the United States of America leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States, for the complete abolition of classes, for the establishment of socialism, the first stage of the classless Communist society.

Then I will read just one sentence from a pledge, which, according to a note in the manual, was given by Browder to 2,000 workers in New York. The sentence is as follows:

I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism.

Those were things which I think you have pointed out in your testimony and which is corroborated by the very language of Peters' Manual.

I want to ask you one further question relating to Peters' Manual. We hear so frequently from witnesses appearing before this committee who have not given up their support of communism that it is a democratic form of government; they speak of the democratic processes, the so-called democratic processes of communism. Now, I want to read one short paragraph on that subject in which J. Peters states as follows:

We cannot imagine a discussion, for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, or the necessity for the proletarian dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. We do not question the counterrevolutionary nature of Trotskyism.

In other words, they were not permitted to question in the Communist Party, if you read literally the language of J. Peters; isn't that correct?

Mr. ROSSER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that true in practice?

Mr. ROSSER. That is true in practice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a convenient place for a recess.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask one more question on this subject before we recess.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that during the time you were in the party and taking these various courses that the party functionaries taught or actually taught the mechanics of sabotage for the basic industries?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the fact is that at the national training school of the Communist Party held in New York, where I spent the 6 months, the basic book used by the national committee of the Communist Party that organized that school was the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In welcoming us to the school, Pop Mindel and George Siskin, two old-time charter member Communists, both trained in Russia, stated that in study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that we would understand the importance of

Marxism-Leninism; that we would understand that without a revolutionary theory there could be no revolution; we would understand that without a party of a new type, a Marxist-Leninist party or Communist Party, a party of social revolution, a party that was able and capable of mobilizing the American people and leading the American people to the final goal and that of revolution, of smashing the American Government by force and violence and setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat—that was the basic thing.

Now, also they pointed out that we would learn how the Bolsheviks of Russia did legal work and illegal work, how they worked in the open, some were Communists, and at the time they had some in the same union and organization not known as Communists, how they used the legal organizations of the people to propagandize the people. Also we were taught how Lenin taught the Bolsheviks how to retreat. There were certain times that they had to retreat.

One, as an example they gave us, was the Breslau Pact, where the Germans—Lenin convinced the Bolsheviks that the best thing to do was to make a peace, although it was a hard peace, but to make this peace in order to regroup and gather their forces and prepare them, that if there was a counterrevolution when the war ended, they could move forward.

They also taught us the importance of strikes, how an economic strike for the just demands of the workers—that the workers wanted \$1.50 an hour, they wanted safety conditions in the factory; these were just demands—and how to use these demands to foment a strike, how to build this strike into a political strike, into a general strike, and then how a general strike could develop into a citywide uprising, and how a citywide uprising could develop into an armed uprising, and the necessity in the question of an armed uprising, the necessity that you couldn't have an armed uprising unless you had arms, how to get arms.

The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the basic book used by the Communists; that gives them the answer. It is not the Leninism that can only be applied in Russia; it is applied by the Communist Parties of the world. It gives them the answer of when to retreat, when to go forward—for example now. The Communists—the history of the Communist Party, if you look there—after the 1905 revolution, when the revolution was broken and crushed, Lenin taught the Communists how to go deep underground, how to use the legal organizations, the unions, the fraternal organizations, civic organizations, of the people to carry out propaganda and how to use the Russian literature.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in recess at this point for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 10:32 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:42 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 10:41 a. m.)

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, you have explained the course of training offered by the Communist Party on the lower levels in the counties and the State. Do you know of any other types of schools that the Communist Party maintained on a State level?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the Communist Party in each county in California—and this is true in all the big industrial cities, States—has

workers' schools, schools organized where the rank and file Communist Party members can attend, and where they can bring their friends from the factories, shops, and organizations they belong to, and they advertise it, where anybody can come and learn about communism.

In Los Angeles we had a workers' school, and in San Francisco we had a workers' school, and as the policy of the Communist Party changed, the policy of these schools changed in a sense.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now the schools that you attended up to the present time, up until the time you have described, have been schools limited to Communist Party members?

Mr. ROSSER. They have been training schools organized by the Communist Party in the State and the county and on a national scale to train those Communists whom they thought were leadership material to develop them into Communist Party leaders.

The workers' schools are schools that are advertised and open to the public.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the San Francisco Workers' School one of those schools that you have just referred to?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence as Rosser Exhibit No. 5 an announcement of courses of the San Francisco Workers' School.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted.

(Photostat of San Francisco Workers' School announcement of courses was received in evidence as Rosser Exhibit No. 5.)

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 5

SAN FRANCISCO WORKERS' SCHOOL

Announcement of Courses

"Without a correct revolutionary theory, there can be no correct revolutionary practice"—Lenin.

Third Year

Spring Term: March 5 to May 31, 1934

Ruthenberg House
121 Haight Street, San Francisco
Telephone: Underhill 3425

FOREWORD

The San Francisco Workers School functions on the basis of the economic, political, and philosophic teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and has as its fundamental principle the inseparability of revolutionary theory from revolutionary practice. The central aim of the Workers School is to equip workers with the knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its effective application in their militant struggles against the capitalist class toward the decisive proletarian victory. The revolutionary working-class movement is in constant need of trained new groups of active workers, and leaders.

The school is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class.

PSEUDO MARXIST AND "LIBERAL" SCHOOLS

It is necessary to state that the Workers School is the only school in San Francisco which authoritatively bases its education on the theory of Marxism-Leninism under the official guidance and leadership of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and the Communist International.

Students seeking to obtain a true scientific Marxist-Leninist education should not be confused by the appearance of unauthorized schools pretending to the same purpose. Serious students of social science will also beware of the so-called "liberal" schools. Marxism, the application of the principles of dialectical materialism, is a science based on a thorough study of the processes of social and physical life. This science should be distinguished from the shallow vaporings of pedants who hide their bankruptcy and confusion under the title of "liberalism."

FORUMS

A series of forums, lectures, concerts, and exhibits will be given by the San Francisco Workers School during the spring term, every Sunday evening.

SCHOOL LIBRARY

The school asks for the assistance of all its friends in establishing its library. We have no endowment and the small tuition fee paid by the students is not sufficient to cover the expenses connected with the school. Therefore, we ask that any working-class, political, economic, or research literature that you can contribute to the school library be sent to the school office. No books allowed out of the building. Library open daily, 1 to 7 p. m., except Sunday.

REGISTRATION

Spring term 1934 opens March 5. It is essential to register early, since the size of the classes is limited.

School office open daily, 1 to 10 p. m., except Sunday.

TUITION FEES

Each course of 3 months (12 sessions) \$1 for employed, 50 cents for unemployed. Courses under 12 sessions, 50 cents employed and 25 cents unemployed.

COURSES

All classes night classes. Twelve sessions unless otherwise stated.

Principles of Communism

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 202. Instructor, E. Roberts.

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 202. Instructor, Ed. Boudreau.

An Introduction to the Study of Marxism-Leninism. Elements of the Revolutionary Movement of the Proletariat. The Two World Systems of Society, the Economic Crisis and Its Causes, the General Crisis of Capitalism, Imperialist Contradictions, Imperialist Wars, Proletarian Revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the Role of the Communist Party.

Principles of Communism for Young Workers

Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m., Room ——. Instructor, Jean Rand.

Marxian Economics—A

Prerequisite: Principles of communism.

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 101. Instructor, James Branch.

Wednesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 101. Instructor, Sam Goodwin.

The basic principles of the system and method of Marx and Engels and their application. Commodities, Value, Surplus Value. Absolute and Relative Surplus Value, Money, Capital, Constant and Variable Capital. Theory of Wages, Process of Capitalist Accumulation, General law of Capitalist Accumulation.

Marxian Economics—B

Prerequisite: Marxian Economics—A.

Friday, 9-10:30 p. m., Room 201. Instructor, Charles Gordon.

The Distribution of Surplus Value, Profit and Price of Production, Commercial Capital and Commercial Profit, Interest, Ground Rent, Development of Capitalism in Agriculture, Crises, Bourgeois Theories, Social Democratic Conceptions, Marxist Theory of Crises, Monopoly and Finance, Capital and Imperialism.

Leninism

Prerequisites: Marxian Economics—A. History of the Three Internationals.

Tuesday, 9-10:30. Room 201. Instructor, Sam Darcy, George Morris, James Branch and others.

The Marxism of the epoch of Imperialism and proletarian revolution. Development of Imperialism and Imperialist War. Decline of Capitalism. Theory of Proletarian Revolution. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat; Agrarian, National, and Colonial Questions. Problems of Socialist Construction. Role of the Communist Party as the Vanguard of the Proletariat.

History of the American Labor Movement

Friday, 7:20-8:50. Room 202. Instructor, Violet Orr.

The Historical Development of the American Labor Movement, its Traditions and Changing Tactics and Strategy. Colonial Period and the Revolutionary War, Development of Trade Unions, particularly after the Civil War. The Imperialist War, its effects upon the American Labor Movement. Organization and Program of the Trade Union Unity League, and recent developments.

History of the Three Internationals

Prerequisite: Principles of Communism.

Wednesday, 9-10:30 p. m. Room 201. Instructor, Emmett Kirby.

Preimperialist epoch of capitalism; Chartist movement. Revolution of 1848. American Civil War. Paris Commune and First International. War of 1914-1918 and collapse of Second International. Russian Revolution: founding, tactics, and role of Communist International. History and tasks of American Communist Party.

History of the Russian revolution

Friday, 9-10:30 p. m. Room 202. Instructor, L. Thompson.

Origin of Menshevism and Bolshevism. Role of Bolshevism and Second International. Revolution of 1905, period of reaction following. The March 1917 revolution. Events leading up to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. Survey of the major stages after 1917. Study of the proletarian dictatorship in action. Leninism versus Trotskyism and other opportunist doctrines. Lessons of the Russian Revolution for the world proletariat.

National and Colonial Problems

Prerequisites: Principles of Communism.

Wednesday, 9-10:30. Room 101. Instructor, Carl Hama.

Development of capitalism in the colonies; relationship of imperialism to colonial peoples and national minorities. Agrarian colonial movements, forms of the national liberation movement and its relation to the struggle of the proletariat in imperialist countries. History and forms of the Negro liberation movement in the United States.

Trade Union Strategy and Tactics

Tuesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 201. Instructor, Neil Hickey.

Strategy of revolutionary and reformist unions. Historical analysis of American trade-union movement. Study of strike strategy. Immediate tasks of the Trade Union Unity League and forms of struggle against unemployment. Rationalization and imperialist war.

Principles of working class organization

Prerequisite: Principles of communism.

(Limited to Communist Party and YCL members.)

Friday, 7:20-8:50. Room 201. Instructor, Louise Todd.

Training functionaries to apply the organizational principles of working class organization, role of the party and its relation to the working class, tasks of the party nuclei, meaning and methods of mass work, and factory concentration on the basis of specific party campaigns.

History of the Youth Movement and Program of the Young Communist International

Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m. Room 201. Instructor, Jack Olson.

Origin and development of the revolutionary youth movement from the International Youth Conference in Berne, 1915. The Second International Youth Movement. Role of Liebknecht to the First Congress of the Communist Youth International to the consolidation of the Communist youth movement since 1919. History, development and tasks of the YCL in the United States.

Economics for Young Communist League

Prerequisite: Principles of communism.

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 201.

Includes the same material as main Marxian economics course with special emphasis on problems of the revolutionary youth movement in the struggle against militarism and imperialist war.

Elementary English

Wednesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 202. Instructor, Cora Reed.

Spelling, writing, reading, and pronunciation for foreign-born workers.

Advanced English

Monday, 9-10:30. Room 101. Instructor, K. McKee.

Sentence structure, grammar, composition.

Elementary Russian

Tuesday, 9-10:30. Room 202. Instructor, G. Williams.

Grammar, conversation, writing, and simple reading.

Advanced Russian

Wednesday, 9-10:30. Room 202. Instructor, Vladimir A. Tichinin.

Sentence structure, composition, advanced reading, and conversation.

Evolution of Arts and Technics

Wednesday, 9-10:30. Instructor, K. Rexroth.

Self-Defense in Courts

Friday, 9-10:30. Room 101. Instructors, Elaine Black and George Anderson.
(Four sessions.)

Capitalist court procedure, methods of self-defense and mass support in working-class trials.

Public Speaking

Monday, 7:20-8:50 p. m. Room 101. Instructor, T. Alex.

Organization of speeches, delivery, voice control, and effective agitation and propaganda.

Agitation and Propaganda Technique

Tuesday, 9-10:30 p. m. Room 101. Instructors, A. Garrison and R. Casimir.

Theory and practice of effective execution of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. Slogans, leaflets, bulletins, organization of street and mass meetings, forums, demonstrations, etc.

Revolutionary Journalism

Wednesday, 7:20-8:50. Room 201. Instructor, Emmett Kirby.

Workers' correspondence, reporting, shop papers, and contradictions of the capitalist press. Feature writing, the fundamentals of newspaper makeup.

Revolutionary Theater

Friday, 7:20-8:50. Room 108. Instructor, Harold Davis.

Function of the theater in society. Analysis of the development of the theater just before the World War; period of radicalization within the bourgeois theater, and the rise of the revolutionary theater, which is its historical successor.

Historical Materialism Seminar

Prerequisites: Marxian economics and Leninism.

Friday, 4-6 p. m.

Poster Work

Wednesday, 2-4 p. m. Room 203. Instructor, Lester Balog.

(Six sessions.)

Drawing

Thursday, 7:20-9:30. Room 202. Instructor, Jack Roberts.

Design, poster layout, etc.

Still Photography—Elementary

Monday, 7:20-8:50. Room 203. Instructors, P. Aller and J. Fidiham.

Study and use of various types of cameras, lighting, lenses, choice and composition of revolutionary working-class subjects.

Still Photography—Advanced

Tuesday, 7:20–8:50. Room 203. Instructors, P. Aller and J. Fidiham.
Darkroom and field practice.

Cinematography

Monday, 9–10:30. Room 203. Instructors, Lester Balog and P. Otto.
Criticism of bourgeois pictures, analysis of Soviet news reels, documentary and acted films. Montage, film production and projection of working class news reels and films.

Hygiene and Diet

Monday, 7:20–8:50 p. m. Room 202. Instructor, Dr. H. F. Unsinger.

EXTENSION DIVISION

Greek Workers Club: 1171 Market Street, History of American Labor Movement
Wednesday, 8–10 p. m. Instructor, Ida Rothstein.

Needle Workers Industrial Union, 830 Market Street, Trade Union Strategy and Tactics.

Tuesday, 8–9:30 p. m.

North Beach Workers School:

Principles of Communism.
History of American Labor Movement.
Principles of working class organization.

Marine Workers, 437 Market Street:

(Conducted in conjunction with Marine Workers Industrial Union.)
Trade Union problems.
Sunday, 2–4 p. m. Instructor, Fred Moore.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

James Branch, director	Leo Thompson
Esther Goodman, secretary	A. Palola
J. W. Weeks, publicity manager	C. Dunning
Nell Higman, librarian	Dr. Harold F. Unsinger
M. McNab	W. Randolph
G. Bergman	G. Geoffrin
L. Sugi	

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Langston Hughes, writer
Ella Winter, writer
Lincoln Steffens, writer
George Morris, editor, Western Worker
Beatrice Kinkead, teacher
Anita Whitney
Dr. M. H. Crawford
Sam Darcy, district organizer, Communist Party
Benjamin Ellisberg, business agent, ornamental plasterers' union, AFL
Ed Harris, Machinist Local No. 68, AFL
Sam Diner, president Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union
Harry Jackson, coast organizer, Marine Workers' Industrial Union
Leo Gallagher, attorney
Neil Hickey, district organizer, Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to read some of the material from this exhibit and the names of the courses and the teachers as a basis for further questioning.

The foreword to this announcement is as follows:

The San Francisco Workers School functions on the basis of the economic, political and philosophic teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and has as its fundamental principle the inseparability of revolutionary theory from revolutionary practice. The central aim of the Workers' School is to equip workers with the knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its effective application in their militant struggles against the capitalist class toward the

decisive proletarian victory. The revolutionary working class movement is in constant need of trained new groups of active workers and leaders.

The school is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class.

The first course is entitled "Principles of Communism," and the instructors are named as E. Roberts and Edward Boudreau, B-o-u-d-r-e-a-u. Were you acquainted with those two persons?

Mr. ROSSER. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. The second course is Principles of Communism for Young Workers and the instructor is Jean Rand.

Mr. ROSSER. I was acquainted with her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Jean Rand a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. ROSSER. Not to my knowledge. She was a member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Marxism Economics—A; instructor, James Branch and also Sam Goodwin. Were you acquainted with either or both of those persons?

Mr. ROSSER. Both of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were either of them to your knowledge members of the Young Communist League or the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Sam Goodwin; Sam Goodwin was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know as to James Branch?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Marxian Economics—B is the the next course, and the instructor is Charles Gordon. Were you acquainted with Charles Gordon?

Mr. ROSSER. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is Leninism; instructors, Sam Darcy, George Morris, James Branch, and others. Were you acquainted with Sam Darcy?

Mr. ROSSER. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. He was the organizer of district 13 during that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with George Morris?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is History of the American Labor Movement, and the teacher, Violet Orr, O-r-r. Were you acquainted with Violet Orr?

Mr. ROSSER. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she known to you to be a member of either the Young Communist League or the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is History of the Three Internationals; instructor, Emmett Kirby, K-i-r-b-y. Were you acquainted with Emmett Kirby?

Mr. ROSSER. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is History of the Russian Revolution; instructor, L. Thompson.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, are the names you are reading those who were open members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Some of them were.

Mr. JACKSON. The names that are being read?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes; some of them were, most of them.

Mr. JACKSON. I think, Mr. Chairman, in such cases where they were not open members of the Communist Party the witness should further identify them and give the source of his knowledge as to their membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. I agree; if you will do that, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Those who are not known to him to be members openly of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. National and Colonial Problems is the next course, with instructor Carl Hama, H-a-m-a. Were you acquainted with Carl Hama?

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is Trade Union Strategy and Tactics; instructor, Neil, N-e-i-l, Hickey, H-i-c-k-e-y. Were you acquainted with Neil Hickey?

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Principles of Working Class Organization is the next; instructor, Louise Todd. Were you acquainted with Louise Todd?

Mr. ROSSER. I was. Louise Todd was a State leader of the Communist Party in California.

Mr. TAVENNER. An open member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Open member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is History of the Youth Movement and Program of the Young Communist International; instructor, Jack Olsen. Were you acquainted with Jack Olsen?

Mr. ROSSER. I was. I was on the county committee of the Los Angeles Young Communist League with Jack Olsen. He was the head of Los Angeles County. I was on the State committee of the Young Communist League. He was on the State committee, and he later became the head of the Young Communist League in California, and then he was an open Communist, and then he later became an official in the Local 6 of the Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next course is Economics for Young Communist League; instructor is not given.

"Elementary English"; instructor, Cora Reed.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Advanced English; instructor, K. McKee, M-c-K-e-e.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Elementary Russian; instructor, G. Williams.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Advanced Russian; instructor, Vladimir A. Tichinin, V-l-a-d-i-m-i-r T-i-c-h-i-n-i-n. Were you acquainted with him?

Mr. ROSSER. No, I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Evolution of Arts and Technics; instructor, K. Rexroth, R-e-x-r-o-t-h. Were you acquainted—

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Self-Defense in Courts; instructors, Elaine Black and George Anderson.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew Elaine Black to be a member of the Communist Party. I knew George Anderson, but I didn't know him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not know him to be a member?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Public Speaking"; instructor, T. Alex, A-l-e-x.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Agitation and Propaganda Technique"; instructors, A. Garrison and R. Casimir, G-a-r-r-i-s-o-n and R. C-a-s-i-m-i-r.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew Garrison, but I didn't know—as an open Communist—but I didn't know the other.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder?

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know Casimir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you say with regard to Garrison?

Mr. ROSSER. I knew Garrison as an open Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. As an open Communist?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Revolutionary Journalism"; instructor, Emmett Kirby. I believe I have asked you about Kirby.

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know Kirby.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Revolutionary Theater"; instructor, Harold Davis.

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know Harold Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not know him?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Historical Materialism Seminar"; no instructor named.

"Poster Work"; instructor, Lester Balog, B-a-l-o-g.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Drawing"; instructor, Jack Roberts.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know Jack Roberts.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Still Photography—Elementary"; instructors, P. Aller, A-l-l-e-r, and J. Fidiam, F-i-d-i-a-m. "Study and use of various types of cameras, lighting, lenses, choice and composition of revolutionary working class subjects."

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know either one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt to ask you what was the significance of the teaching of the selection and composition of revolutionary working class subjects?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the importance of it is being able to photograph locations of defense plants—that is a working class subject—being able to take photographic copies of records and things like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask at this point, in your experience in the Communist Party were you ever given an assignment as a courier or to participate in particular acts of espionage such as obtaining documents for reproduction and passing them on to enemies of this country?

Mr. ROSSER. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Hygiene and Diet"; Dr. H. F. Unsinger.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Apparently there was an extension division of this school in which extension services were rendered to the Greek Workers' Club, 1171 Market Street, in which the subject "History of American Labor Movement" was taught, and the instructor was identified as Ida Rothstein, R-o-t-h-s-t-e-i-n.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew her. She was a charter member of the party. I worked with her down in Los Angeles. She is an open Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any personal knowledge of the Greek Workers' Club?

Mr. ROSSER. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the next is the Needle Workers' Industrial Union, 830 Market Street, and the subject was "Trade Union Strategy and Tactics"; no instructor named. Did you have any personal knowledge of that organization?

Mr. ROSSER. Not here in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. North Beach Workers' School, in which there was taught "Principles of Communism," "History of American Labor Movement," and "Principles of Working Class Organization." Were you acquainted with the North Beach Workers' School?

Mr. ROSSER. No, I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Marine Workers, 437 Market Street. Do you know what that address was? 437 Market Street?

Mr. ROSSER. No, I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is a notation that this extension course was "Conducted in conjunction with Marine Workers' Industrial Union"; instructor, Fred Moore. Were you acquainted with Fred Moore?

Mr. ROSSER. I wasn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. The executive committee members of this school are named as follows: James Branch—you have already testified regarding James Branch, and I believe you said you did not know him.

Mr. ROSSER. I did not know him as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Esther Goodman, secretary.

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I knew her as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. James Branch was director.

Was Esther Goodman an open Communist member or not?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I didn't know whether she was an open Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us further description and account of the circumstances under which you knew her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I met her at a meeting of the Communist Party up here in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. J. W. Weeks, publicity manager.

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Nell Higman, N-e-l-l H-i-g-m-a-n, librarian.

Mr. ROSSER. I know a Nell Higman, an open Communist, who is a retired school teacher. Whether that is she or not I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the person to whom you refer a resident of San Francisco or some other place?

Mr. ROSSER. She is a resident of Los Angeles, but I don't know how long she has been down there.

Mr. TAVENNER. A. Palola, P-a-l-o-l-a.

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. C. Dunning.

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. D-u-n-n-i-n-g. Dr. Harold F. Unsigner.

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. W. Randolph.

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. G. Geoffrin, G-e-o-f-f-r-i-n.

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. The advisory council is mentioned here, consisting of the following: Langston Hughes, writer.

Mr. ROSSER. I know him, but not as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ella Winter, writer.

Mr. ROSSER. I know her, but not as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lincoln Steffens, writer.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew him, too. He was Ella Winter's husband.

Mr. TAVENNER. George Morris, editor of the Western Worker.

Mr. ROSSER. I know him; he is an open Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Beatrice Kinkead, K-i-n-k-e-a-d.

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did not know her?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Anita Whitney.

Mr. ROSSER. I know her; she is the chairman of the Communist Party for the State of California.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say "is"?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the present time? Do you mean at the present time?

Mr. ROSSER. At the time I knew her, up to the time I got out of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in 1944?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. M. H. Crawford.

Mr. ROSSER. I identified him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sam Darcy.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew Sam Darcy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Benjamin Ellisberg, business agent, Ornamental Plasterers' Union, A. F. of L.

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ed Harris, Machinist Local No. 68, A. F. of L.

Mr. ROSSER. I didn't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sam Diner, D-i-n-e-r, president, Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew him, but I didn't know him as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harry Jackson, coast organizer, Marine Workers' Industrial Union.

Mr. ROSSER. I knew Harry Jackson well. He was the organizer of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, and he was sent out here by the national committee of the Communist Party, and he was responsible by

the national committee for the development of the trade union work on the coast so far as infiltration of the Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leo Gallagher, attorney.

Mr. ROSSER. I know Leo Gallagher, but I don't know Leo Gallagher as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Neil Hickey, district organizer of Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, after the completion of your work in the county, your training in the county or State schools which you have described, were you selected for further training?

Mr. ROSSER. When we closed I was explaining that I had been sent to the national training school of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you selected?

Mr. ROSSER. I was selected by the county committee of Los Angeles County, the State committee of the Young Communist League, and the State committee of the Communist Party. Of course the State committee of the Communist Party of California had the final say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was the school conducted?

Mr. ROSSER. The school was conducted in upper New York State on a big estate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whose estate?

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know whose estate, and I don't remember exactly where it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons were in attendance at this school?

Mr. ROSSER. About 50 or 60.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they from any restricted localities, or were they from the country as a whole?

Mr. ROSSER. We had two Communist leaders from Puerto Rico. Then we had Communist leaders from all over America. They had people who were leaders in the YWCA work; people who were leaders in the union, like Morgan Hull from California who went with me, who was a leader in the American Newspaper Guild. We had trade union leaders from steel, from auto; we had leaders from the language groups such as the Yugoslavs and Armenians, the Polish, the Czechs.

There were two Negroes, myself and a Negro woman leader from Harlem, and then there were top Communist leaders from the party organization itself, right out of the party organizations from the States—every State almost—Florida, New Jersey, Carolina, California, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say there were representatives there from the YWCA?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean the YWCA?

Mr. ROSSER. That they were Communist leaders in the YWCA work, and they were on the top national level in the YWCA apparatus.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "YWCA apparatus"? What does that stand for?

Mr. ROSSER. Legally they were a member of the national leadership of the Young Women's Christian Association, but illegally—also they were leading Communists, which I am sure the national leadership of the YWCA did not know, and they were brought to this school and

trained in the theory of Marxism and Leninism, just like the trade unionists who were there. They were not known Communists in their unions. Most of them were leaders of their unions, and they were brought to this school to be trained; and then they had people like myself who were open Communists in the neighborhoods they had come from, and they were there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you learn the names of your associates in the school?

Mr. ROSSER. For security reasons when we arrived at the school every student had an interview with the leaders of the school and we were told that we were not to ask any questions; we would only know each other by the first name; we were not to discuss with them the work they did back where they came from; we were not to go down into the village. We could not leave the premises unless we got permission, so therefore the only people that you really knew at the school were those people that were in your group, and we became very close and talked about the work that you did in your home.

In my group I had a person from New Jersey named Martha Stone; I had a person named George from the Chicago area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was George the first name or the last name?

Mr. ROSSER. George is all I know, but I knew he was a top trade unionist, and I knew that he was in the CIO, and I knew that, but I never knew his last name; and I had this lady from the YWCA in my group, and I had one of the Communist leaders from Puerto Rico in my group.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the person from the YWCA who was in your group?

Mr. ROSSER. Mary, that is all I know.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Rosser, you mentioned a while ago that this was done for security reasons. I take it it was for the security of the Communist Party or the trade-union school, is that correct?

Mr. ROSSER. It was security for the protection of the Communists who came to that school. It was divided about 50 percent; 50 percent were known Communists from the States they came from, but the other 50 percent were Communists who were leaders of other organizations who were not known as Communists, not even to the rank and file Communists in the district they came from, so for security reasons, to protect these people so that they would not be exposed, nobody was to ask these questions of the Communist Party—I don't mean the—

Mr. VELDE. Did you have the feeling yourself, or do you think that the other people who attended this school had the feeling that they were doing something wrong in preaching communism or teaching these various courses which have been mentioned by counsel?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. VELDE. What reason would they have for going to this extreme of protecting them from the exposure then?

Mr. ROSSER. At that time the Dies committee was very active, and the question of protecting the party—that is one of the basic things they teach you in the party is that the party has to be protected at all costs, and there are a lot of measures that the party takes to protect the party.

For example, all leading Communists, they can't do anything because there is another Communist that trained them. If they see them get out of line or they break the party policy, and they don't agree and tell somebody, that is told to the party leadership.

Mr. JACKSON. From what section of the country was the woman who was in your group from the YWCA?

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know what section of the country. All I know, she was in the national setup.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean, the national setup?

Mr. ROSSER. She was in the national leadership of the YWCA the legal YWCA.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you made the observation a minute ago that you were sure that the top authorities—I think that is the term you used—did not know that these people were there at the school.

Mr. ROSSER. That is true.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you referred specifically to the YWCA top leadership not knowing that this woman was there.

Mr. ROSSER. That is true.

Mr. DOYLE. And so stated, didn't you?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. How did you know that?

Mr. ROSSER. Because in my discussion—in our discussion in our group, Morgan Hull got a leave of absence, sick leave, from the American Newspaper Guild. That is what he told me and she discussed that she got a leave of absence from her work.

Mr. DOYLE. My question was directed to this: You made the observation that you were sure that the top leadership in the YWCA did not know that she was attending the school.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I will tell you this: Until it was announced in the Communist leaflet by one of the YCL clubs, the Communist Party in Los Angeles, rank and file membership, did not know I was attending the school. Nobody was told. I was told not to tell anybody where I was going, and I didn't write to anybody.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand that this woman that you mentioned who was in your group—that you gave the first name of—indicated to you that she was there secretly and without knowledge of her top leadership?

Mr. ROSSER. She was there to the Communist school without the knowledge of the people she worked with in the YWCA.

Mr. SCHERER. This 50 percent that you spoke of, 50 percent of the students that were there, they were actually members of the Communist underground party, were they not?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you ever subsequently determine, Mr. Rosser, whether or not this woman or any of those who were not known by their organizations to be members of the Communist Party were ever exposed before any Federal inquiry or in a court action?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Then it is within the realm of possibility that the people with whom you attended that school may in some instances still be hidden members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Of course.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you have stated in the earlier part of your testimony that the principal text used in this school was History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the purpose of using the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a text in this highly secret school composed of persons selected as leaders of the Communist Party throughout the United States?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, that was used as a basis to train and teach the American Communists the methods used by Lenin and Stalin in their day-to-day work to build and prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of the Czar in Russia and setting up a socialist state.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the teachers that used this history as the basis for their lectures or teaching?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the teachers were—the two people who taught us every day was “Pop” Mindel and George Siskin, S-i-s-k-i-n, George Siskin. But weekly we had a lecture from the members of the national political bureau of the Communist Party. Earl Browder lectured on the united front. Bob Minor, member of the national committee, lectured on the war and Fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is Robert Minor, M-i-n-o-r?

Mr. ROSSER. That is his name, Robert Minor. James W. Ford, one of the top-ranking Negro Communists in the Communist movement, lectured on the Negro question. Roy Hudson at that time was the head of the trade-union work for the Communist Party, and he lectured on the importance of working in the trade unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in New York?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Roy Hudson prior to that time?

Mr. ROSSER. I met Roy Hudson at the school, and I have met him a couple of times after that.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Rosser, I am afraid I wasn't very attentive at the time you identified this school and the date of the school. Will you reidentify that, please?

Mr. ROSSER. I left Los Angeles in November 1938 and I studied 6 months in the school, and I came back to Los Angeles about the 1st of July 1939.

Mr. VELDE. Where was the school held again?

Mr. ROSSER. Upper State of New York.

Mr. VELDE. On this large estate?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. That you don't know the name of the owner of the estate?

Mr. SCHERER. Near what city?

Mr. ROSSER. New York City.

Mr. SCHERER. Near what city in New York?

Mr. ROSSER. New York City is the only one I know. There was a little village down below, but I didn't know the village because I only went to the village once.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you were giving us the names of the teachers.

Mr. ROSSER. Yes. Jack Stachel.

Mr. TAVENNER. S-t-a-c-h-e-l.

Mr. ROSSER. That is it. He was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, and he spoke. Bittelman; Bittelman was the ranking theoretician of the Communist Party, one of them, in America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that Alexander Bittelman?

Mr. ROSSER. Alexander Bittelman.

Mr. TAVENNER. B-i-t-t-e-l-m-a-n?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right; and then besides these leaders of the national political bureau of the Communist Party who spoke on these different subjects, we had a leader, a Communist—I don't know how he got here, but he was from the German underground—and he spoke.

We had a person—they didn't tell us his name—who was in charge of the work in Brazil, down through South America, who spoke, and then we had a professor who spoke on the Communist position on books, certain books and things like that, art.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was about to ask you a few moments ago another question with regard to Roy Hudson. You said you met Roy Hudson several times after that school. Where did you meet him?

Mr. ROSSER. I saw him again at the 1938 national convention of the Communist Party in New York. I met him again out in Los Angeles in 1942, and then I saw him earlier. The first time I saw Roy Hudson was in 1934, right after the maritime strike out here on the coast.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you more about that later. Do you know whether he was assigned to duty in the Communist Party to the west coast at any time?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, all I can say is that Roy Hudson was responsible to the political bureau of the Communist Party and the national committee for the work of the Communists in the trade-union movement throughout America, which included the west coast, east coast, and he was on the west coast many times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you required to put in long hours of study at this school, or was it just an easy course or cinch course as the students in school would call it.

Mr. ROSSER. No, we had a lecture and a discussion that lasted until 4 in the afternoon. We had a break for lunch and a break for time out between 8:30 and 4, and then from 4 to 6 we relaxed and had our dinner. Then after dinner we were broken up into groups, and these groups discussed the material that we had discussed that day, and those Communists in our groups who were weak and didn't understand the party's position on certain things and how to apply them to the American scene, those of us who did understand it, we tried to help them out, and then a person in that group was assigned to write a paper that night which he would read the following day in the class on the group's understanding of what we had been taught.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, isn't that exactly the procedure used by the Communists in Korea in their efforts to indoctrinate prisoners of war?

Mr. VELDE. I would think you are certainly right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that was exactly the procedure.

Mr. SCHERER. That was just the testimony in New York 2 weeks ago by boys who had been prisoners of war, the same procedure identically.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who paid your expenses?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, Max Silver, the administrative secretary of Los Angeles County, didn't give me the tickets. The tickets were given to Bob Cole, Communist leader.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bob who?

Mr. ROSSER. Cole, C-o-l-e. I traveled with him, and they paid my expenses to New York and took care of me while I was at the school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify Bob Cole a little further, please?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, Bob Cole for a time worked with Steve Nelson up here in Alameda County, in the Communist Party up here in Alameda.

Mr. TAVENNER. Steve Nelson was the Communist Party organizer of Alameda County?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right, in the early forties.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know Steve Nelson?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I knew him very well.

Mr. VELDE. Of course you knew him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know anything further about his activities in connection with the University of California radiation laboratory?

Mr. ROSSER. The thing that I know about Steve Nelson is that I met him in 1938. He had been to Spain, and then I met him when he come out to Los Angeles, and he and I worked together, and we had many discussions together about the Communist theory, and then just before he got ready to come up to San Francisco on his new assignment I was in a meeting with Celeste Strack and Andy Charles and a person—

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first name?

Mr. ROSSER. Andy Charles, and a person by the name of Bob Chasson; Andy Charles, Bob Chasson, and Celeste Strack—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the last name?

Mr. ROSSER. Bob Chasson, C-h-a-s-s-o-n—were student leaders at the University of California. They were head of the student work, and Steve Nelson wanted to know from us the names of students that we had contacted during our activities in the Young Communist League who were studying to be scientists, who were studying to be chemists, mathematicians, and those connections we had at Cal Tech and so forth. That was the only connection I had with that type of activity that he carried on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you give him the information he requested?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I didn't know those people well, but I am sure they gave—they knew them because they were on the campus; they were active participants and leaders of the Young Communist League in the thirties on the campus of City College and USC, UCLA.

Mr. VELDE. When you say "they," you are referring to Celeste Strack and the others you just mentioned?

Mr. ROSSER. Celeste Strack, yes, and another one was Serrill Gerber.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question there, Mr. Chairman? Do you know from any records you have seen or otherwise approximately how many students at the University of California or USC or Cal Tech were members of the Young Communist League at the time which you relate?

Mr. ROSSER. I do not know.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know Louise Bransten?

Mr. ROSSER. No, I did not know her. I had seen her, but I didn't know her personally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the importance of your training at this school impressed upon you by any particular thing that was told you by the Communist Party leaders as to the importance of your work?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I think there were two things. One was Stachel, Jack Stachel, when he lectured to us about the Communist Party and our responsibility to the party and the need for a well-disciplined party, he stated that we must understand that this training would prepare us one day to be representatives of the Supreme Soviet of America from the different States and cities, that we came from. Some of us would be Senators, some Representatives, some would be mayors in our city, and so forth, and that would create quite a discussion in the school and in the groups; and the other thing was in the discussion by Bob Minor on the Communist position on war, where it was brought out that—he said there is no possibility—but if we do have to go to war with the Soviet Union, the loyalty of every Communist is to the Soviet Union, that we would lead the American people in defeating our own Government to protect the Soviet Union.

Mr. JACKSON. Did the prospect of going to Congress cause any defections?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, it had a lot of effects that a lot of people there, I think—maybe I was carried away a little bit on the question of power. It had its propaganda effects.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned several times during the course of your testimony that the teaching of the Communist Party was in effect that when the time was ripe, any war in which the United States may be engaged should be converted into a civil war and that the fighting should turn against our own Government.

I have before me the book which you said was the subject of many of these lectures, History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and they taught that very thing in the book, did they not?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. They taught, did they not, that that was the history of the development of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. They reasoned from that that when met with new circumstances in this country, the same principles were to be applied.

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. What book is that, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." I will read just this one sentence:

In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeois fatherland, the Bolsheviks advanced the policy of

and this is in quotations—

"the defeat of one's own government in the imperialistic war."

Is that a part which was used as a text in these teachings?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I refer, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, to one section in the conclusion of this book. It is entitled

What does the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union teach us?

(1) The history of the party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable toward compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude toward the bourgeoisie and its state power.

The history of the party teaches us that to leave the proletariat without such a party means to leave it without revolutionary leadership; and to leave it without revolutionary leadership means to ruin the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The history of the party teaches us that the ordinary Social Democratic Party of the West European type, brought up under conditions of civil peace trailing in the wake of the opportunists, dreaming of social reforms and dreading social revolution, cannot be such a party.

The history of the party teaches us that only a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of social revolution, a party capable of preparing the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and of organizing the victory of the proletarian revolution, can be such a party.

You have testified about the Negro question as it was raised in these various schools. Was there any special emphasis placed upon it in this supersecret school, the national training school?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the emphasis placed on the Negro question at this school was that we were in a new period; we were in the period of the united front; we were in a period where it was necessary to mobilize the whole people in the fight against fascism. Therefore for the time being the party would drop the slogan of self-determination of the Negro in the Black Belt and raise the immediate demands, partial demands, of the Negro people—the right to sit on juries, the right to a job, the end of discrimination in all public places, and the restrictive covenants and so forth, and against lynching.

This was done in order not to offend anybody because during this period the strategy of the party was to unite with everybody who was opposed to fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should ask you a specific question at this time as to how the subject of the use of force and violence was treated in this supersecret school.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, in the party literature that was put out, the subject of force and violence was treated as a fact that if the workers strike or if a Negro gets in trouble, he runs into the law, and therefore it is the capitalists who want to organize and start force and violence. But in the national training school we were taught that the only way to bring about a revolution was the arming of the workers and that the only way a revolution could be successful was a revolution that was fought with arms.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Peters' Manual used in that school also?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, if you will follow Peters' Manual, Peters' Manual is the approach that the Communists had at that time from their understanding of the teachings of Lenin.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have had various experience in the Communist Party and positions from the lower level to the higher level of the Young Communist League, the very top. Your rise seems to have

been very rapid. What is the answer to that? How is it that you progressed so rapidly in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, my only understanding—the way I think about it today is that I was willing, when I joined the Communist Party, to carry out every decision of the party; I was willing to take party discipline, party decisions, carry them out, and because of my background, I had the key of opening a lot of doors for the Communist Party—Negro churches, Negro organizations—and because I jumped into the Communist Party work and worked at it 24 hours.

I gave up my family—I was engaged at the time to be married; I broke that off. I gave up the church I went to and moved right out into the main stream as a street speaker and as an organizer for the Communist Party, carrying the Communist Party program of revolution, and as a result I was advanced and trained by the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to call upon your own experiences in the Communist Party and tell the committee just how the Communist Party applied to the American scene these various teachings which you received and this training which you received, particularly in the national training school of the Communist Party.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, when I first joined the Communist Party—

Mr. TAVENNER. I might say, let this be rather a history of your participation in Communist Party activities.

Mr. ROSSER. When I first joined the Communist Party in 1932, the Communist International had analyzed the world depression as a special kind, a depression that capitalism could not get out of unless they went to war, and in this country the Communist program was a program of fighting against America going into the war. The Communists in America said that the only way out of this crises of the great depression was for America to join hands and go to war with England and France, Germany; go to war against the Soviet Union—or for some of the capitalist countries in the world, England and France, Japan, to fight Germany and so forth—or a war between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Anyway, if there was a war between the capitalist countries, it would be an imperialist war, and the party must have the American people prepared to turn such an imperialist war into a civil war.

If it was a war against the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union, the American Communist Party must have the leadership of the American people and must lead them to turn the guns against their own Government and smash the attempt of the American Government to destroy the Soviet Union. So with that line laid down, mainly of defense of the Soviet Union, and a fight against the imperialist war, the party's program was first that they sent out an open letter to all the Communists from the national committee in 1933 to penetrate in all the basic industries of America.

Here in California the gang was longshorists, seamen, steel, agriculture, and besides the penetration into these organizations and into the A. F. of L. unions, building Communist cells among the unemployed, that the Communist build unemployed councils, and in California, southern and northern, these unemployed movements grew in proportions, and they led hunger marches to Sacramento, staged big demonstrations in the streets before buildings, city buildings, county offices, Federal sitdown strike in relief offices, picket lines—

issued all kinds of material, and all the material that the Communist Party issued at that time was "Down with the imperialist war; defend the Soviet Union;" and during all this activity, penetration into the unions, into the basic industries, and also the question of building Communist groups in the Army, Navy, and the police force, and the National Guards, and among the Negro people during this time it was a question of mobilizing the Negro people because the majority in California who were unemployed were in the unemployed councils, and in order to implement this work, street speaking, speaking before factory gates, organization in the basic industries, the party put out hundreds of thousands of pamphlets. In California we must have put out a hundred thousand of "Why Communism?"

"Why Communism?" was a pamphlet that spoke about the impending war, told the workers about the war, told them that they didn't have to suffer like this, that capitalism could never plan, never get out—they would have to go to war—and told them that the only way out was the revolutionary overthrow of the Government and set up a Soviet state.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it an inflammatory piece of propaganda that was used to further the foreign policy and the aims of the Soviet Union?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this the pamphlet to which you refer?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right, "Why Communism?"

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence this pamphlet entitled "Why Communism?" by M. J. Olgin, O-l-g-i-n. It is a very important piece of Communist propaganda which the witness has described which was printed by the hundreds of thousands of copies and distributed. I shall read only a few very short paragraphs.

In the chapter entitled "The Revolutionary Overthrow of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" we find this language:

The overthrow of the state power, and with it of the capitalist system, grows out of the everyday struggles of the workers. One is historically inseparable from the other.

Then I skip to this paragraph:

Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before as the struggles sharpened. Street fights become frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize revolutionary committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The workers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the revolutionary fighters, there is fraternization between the workers and the soldiers, the workers and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and marines spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious.

Armed workers and soldiers and marines seize the principal governmental offices, invade the residences of the President and his Cabinet members, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, establish their own power, the power of the workers and farmers.

I should like to introduce this and ask that it be marked "Rosser Exhibit No. 6."

Mr. VELDE. It will be admitted into the record at this point without objection.

(Pamphlet entitled "Why Communism?" by M. J. Olgin was received in the record as Rosser exhibit No. 6.)¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us more concrete information as to who was responsible for the circulation, the printing and circulation, of that document and this propaganda?

Mr. ROSSER. The national committee put it out first, and then the State committee reprinted it and put it out in California, and then the party units—every party unit had a quota of so many to distribute and sell and pass out, and the Young Communist League also had a quota.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Rosser, does that substantially constitute your understanding of the aims and doctrines of the Communist Party during your period of membership?

Mr. ROSSER. Oh, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason for you to believe that those aims or doctrines have been altered in any material degree since then?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, as the world situation changed, as it affects the foreign policy or the defense of the Soviet Union, the policy and program of the Communist Party changed. Sometimes they are pushing this program of day-to-day revolution, and again they retreat because there is a new situation, such as when Hitler came to power, they had to change that, and they didn't—they tried to burn all those books.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this: But you, sir, were in the Communist Party from 1932 to 1944?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. You were one of the top functionaries of the party nationally as well as in the State of California. Was there ever any publication by the Communist Party of America or of California that contradicted this publication you have just testified as distributing in California which Mr. Tavenner has read?

Mr. ROSSER. They didn't contradict it, but during the period of the united front the only literature put out by the party was that the main danger in the world was Hitler's fascism and that Hitler's fascism was not only aimed at destroying the Soviet Union, but it was aimed at conquering the world and enslaving the peoples of the whole world and enumerating especially the Jewish people and the Negro people, the African and the darker races, and the literature put out by the party during that time was literature that aided the party in building the front against fascism, and for the time being the party dropped the question of immediate revolution.

Mr. DOYLE. Am I correct that there was never any statement by the Communist Party of America or in California that you know of which contradicted this basic premise?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Which you testified to.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us about the circulation of this document. Will you proceed with describing other activities as a member of the Young Communist League or official that related to the propaganda aspect?

¹ Retained in the files of the committee.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, in my work in the Young Communist League during this period we followed the lines laid down by the Communist Party because the Communist Party directed the Young Communist League, and besides distributing the *Why Communism?* we put out a pamphlet, the State committee of the Young Communist League, called Young Communists in Action, and this pamphlet—

Mr. TAVENNER. When was this?

Mr. ROSSER. This was in 1934. This pamphlet was written by a very intelligent, educated young Communist named Lew Miller.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that Lewis, L-e-w-i-s?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes; Lewis Miller. That was his party and Young Communist League name. His real name is Louis Goldblatt. He is now the secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say that Louis Goldblatt went by the Communist name of Lewis Miller?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes; in the YCL.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. ROSSER. I worked with him in the Young Communist League. I was on the county committee in Los Angeles with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us all the identifying information that you can which would indicate that Louis Goldblatt is the same person as Lewis Miller?

Mr. ROSSER. Lew Miller, as I called him, was the educational director for Los Angeles County for awhile for the Young Communist League. He was also in charge of building Young Communist League drill teams during the early thirties. We used to drill for two reasons: One, teaching young Communists how to drill; the other one, defense squads to protect Communist street meetings and Communist meetings if police happened to come to try to break them up.

Later on Lewis Miller, who has a brother also—I can't think of his name—but his real name was Goldblatt. He moved to San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who moved to San Francisco?

Mr. ROSSER. Lew Miller and Louis Goldblatt, which is the same person, and when I came to San Francisco in 1937 or 1938 to a State meeting of the Young Communist League, I met Lewis Miller, Lou Goldblatt—the same Lewis Miller—and he at that time was in the warehousemen's union, and then again when I saw him in 1944—I was up here—he was the secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. That is the international. I don't mean the longshoremen's union itself; I mean the international that is composed of the warehousemen's, fishermen, and longshoremen.

Mr. VELDE. That is commonly known as Harry Bridges' union, is that right?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes; Harry Bridges is the head of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe the nature of this pamphlet which was written by Louis Goldblatt, according to your testimony?

Mr. ROSSER. That pamphlet told of the international solidarity of the working youth of the world—American with the youth of the world—told that there couldn't be a dual leadership, the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, and therefore the Communist Party was the main leader, and then it told of the organizations

of the YCL, and it told the aim and the role of the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. That paralleled the Communist Party line which you have previously described.

Mr. ROSSER. That is right; the Young Communist League members went into the shops; they aided the party and all kinds of things. They built YCL shop units. On the campus we had Celeste Strack and those people, Serrill Gerber, and they built—and up here we had in 1934 Aubrey Grossman, who is an attorney—they built YCL units on the campus who fought against—who held antiwar strikes and who indoctrinated the students with Communist propaganda.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned a person by the name of Grossman. Will you identify the individual more definitely?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I knew Aubrey; I met him in San Francisco at a State meeting of the Young Communist League in early 1934, I think, and he at that time was attending the University of Berkeley, and he was a leader of the students, Young Communist League student work, at Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his full name, do you know?

Mr. ROSSER. All I knew was Aubrey Grossman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aubrey, A-u-b-r-e-y.

Mr. ROSSER. Yes; G-r-o-s-s-m-a-n.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Rosser, over what period of time did you know Lou Goldblatt to be a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. ROSSER. I knew him to be a member of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, we will say, from 1933 right on up to 1944.

Mr. VELDE. You have no further information concerning his activities in the Communist Party after 1944, I take it.

Mr. ROSSER. No, I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Grossman, I understood, was identified with the University of California at Berkeley.

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this the copy of the Young Communists in Action to which you referred?

Mr. ROSSER. Young Communists in Action.

Mr. TAVENNER. Written by Louis Goldblatt. Can you tell the committee who was responsible for the printing and distribution of this document?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the State committee of the Young Communist League was responsible, and the Young Communist League—for the printing, and the Young Communist League units were responsible for the distribution.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent was this propaganda effort extended?

Mr. ROSSER. It was widely distributed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to introduce the document in the record and ask it be marked "Rosser Exhibit No. 7."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted.

(Photostat of document entitled "Young Communists in Action" was received in the record as Rosser Exhibit No. 7.)¹

¹ Retained in the files of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, as that is introduced, may the witness state what State committee of the Communist Party distributed this? I assume it was California.

Mr. ROSSER. The State committee of the Young Communist League of California.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like, before we close, to read a few paragraphs from this document.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is to indicate the propaganda value of it in the Communist plan that has been described by the witness. I read as follows:

The Soviet Union, with its tremendous achievement under a workers' and farmers' government, is an inspiration to the workers throughout the world. Just as the Russian workers, with the leadership of the Russian Communist Party were able to free themselves from the yoke of czarism and capitalism, so will we in the United States, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, overthrow capitalism and build a workers' and farmers' government—a Soviet America.

At another place I read as follows:

"If it is necessary to destroy the capitalist government, why do we take part in elections?" you ask.

The Communist Party and the YCL have a definite purpose in taking part in elections. To begin with, they afford us an opportunity to publicize our platform and the demands of the working class.

Secondly, Communist candidates who are elected use their office in order to better carry on the fight to improve the conditions of the workers, and in order to expose the capitalist governments and show the necessity for setting up a workers' government. Lastly, the vote can be taken as a partial indication of the strength and support of the Communist Party, even though we know that many thousands of workers—Negroes, foreign born, "paupers," soldiers, and sailors—are denied votes or cheated out of them.

At another place it is stated:

We must explain to the workers the peace policy of the Soviet Union—a peace policy that is permanent, honest, and consistent, because it is based on the international solidarity of the working class. The U. S. S. R. is not interested in securing colonies or conquering foreign markets. It is interested in building socialism at home and in cementing relations with the workers in other lands.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union, although it cannot abolish war altogether, can greatly hinder the war plans of the capitalists against the U. S. S. R. It can even postpone the beginning of such a war if it receives the active support of the workers in the capitalist countries. Also, to hinder and put off the counterrevolutionary war against the Soviet Union is in the immediate interest of the workers because it gives the workers, farmers, and oppressed people additional time in which to prepare for the revolution which will abolish all wars. Finally, if war comes despite our struggle, we must by no means give way to the illusion that war postpones or in any way lessens the class struggle. On the contrary, it is intensified, and it is our job to point the way to the freedom of the workers of all warring countries, especially to our own.

In this light we can understand how the Soviet peace policy is a revolutionary, international policy—and can see the significance of the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union."

Then, with your permission, just one further short paragraph.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing to read).

Only through militant struggle can we prevent the introduction of fascism. The Young Communist League drill and defense squads have been formed to help fight this menace. The defense squads are to protect meetings and demonstrations, prevent the raiding of workers' clubs and headquarters by Fascist gangs, and to organize the workers for self-defense. We must be alert to sense, report, and conduct active campaigns against every Fascist step, and give our full support to building the American League Against War and Fascism.

This organization, as the committee knows, was cited as one of the most active Communist-front organizations in the United States.

Mr. VELDE. Before recessing, the Chair would like to thank Mr. Brooks and other officials of the city and county of San Francisco who have been extremely generous in extending to us the use of this lovely room for our hearings. Mr. Brooks has asked that during the noon hour the hearing room be completely cleared, so the committee would appreciate it if the physical audience present would abide by the instructions or those requests.

At this point the committee will stand at recess until 1:45.

(Whereupon, at 12:12 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 1:45 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1:50 p. m., of the same day, the hearing was resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Counsel, I have been asked by the press and various other persons interested in this hearing concerning the subpoena which was issued for Louis Goldblatt some 3 weeks ago by this committee. Can you tell me if the efforts to serve a subpoena on Mr. Goldblatt have been successful?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the investigators and those helping them have not been successful in serving the subpoena, and we have been advised within the last few hours that he has arrived in Honolulu, so he is outside of our immediate jurisdiction.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS ROSSER—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, you testified regarding the use that was made of the Communist propaganda pamphlet entitled "Why Communism?" and also the Communist propaganda pamphlet entitled "Young Communists in Action," written by Louis Goldblatt. You were asked a question by a member of the committee as to whether or not the Communist Party at any time had disavowed either of these pamphlets or their contents, and you replied they had not.

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not these 2 pamphlets represented the Communist Party line at that time?

Mr. ROSSER. It did; at the eighth national convention of the Communist Party in May 1934 in Cleveland the Communist Party passed a resolution which resolution was exactly like the material in Why Communism? and Young Communists in Action.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer into evidence a resolution of the eighth national convention of the Communist Party at Cleveland, Ohio, April 2 to 8, 1934, which was just alluded to by the witness and have it marked Rosser Exhibit No. 8.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted at this point.

(Resolution of the eighth national convention at Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, was received in evidence as Rosser Exhibit No. 8.)

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 8

[The Communist, May 1934, pp. 444 and 445]

Government Reading

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION, AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL 2-8, 1934

The whole party must be aroused for a fight against the imminence of imperialist war and intervention. The main task consists in unmasking the pacifist cover under which war is being prepared by the Roosevelt government; in exposing the role of pacifism of all brands without alienating honest pacifists who are ready to enter into a militant fight against imperialist war; strengthening the party and the revolutionary mass organizations in the decisive war industries and in the harbors; in carrying through mass actions for the stoppage of the shipment of arms to Japan and China; in defending the Chinese revolution to the utmost, unmasking before the masses the counter-revolutionary role of American imperialism and its oppression against the Chinese Soviets (sixth offensive) and popularizing the heroic struggles and tremendous success of the Chinese Soviet power; in increasing the political educational work in the Army and Navy and in the CCC camps; and in widely explaining the peace policy of the Soviet Union and exposing the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the Trotskyite renegades and social-fascists. By our struggle against the danger of the imperialist war, we must prepare to convert the imperialist war into civil war. The eighth congress of the C. P. U. S. A. echoes the call of the thirteenth plenum of the FCCI.— * * * which "calls upon all the workers and toilers self-sacrificingly to defend the U. S. S. R. against counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet power from imperialist intervention."

Mr. TAVENNER. The resolution reads as follows:

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

The whole party must be aroused for a fight against the imminence of imperialist war and intervention. The main task consists in unmasking the pacifist cover under which war is being prepared by the Roosevelt Government; in exposing the role of pacifism of all brands without alienating honest pacifists who are ready to enter into a militant fight against imperialist war; strengthening the party and the revolutionary mass organizations in the decisive war industries and in the harbors; in carrying through mass actions for the stoppage of the shipment of arms to Japan and China; in defending the Chinese revolution to the utmost, unmasking before the masses the counter-revolutionary role of American imperialism and its oppression against the Chinese Soviets (sixth offensive), and popularizing the heroic struggles and tremendous success of the Chinese Soviet power; in increasing the political educational work in the Army and Navy and in the CCC camps; and in widely explaining the peace policy of the Soviet Union and exposing the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the Trotskyite renegades and social-fascists. By our struggle against the danger of the imperialist war, we must prepare to convert the imperialist war into civil war. The Eighth Congress of the CPUSA echoes the call of the Thirteenth Plenum of the ECCI, * * * which "calls upon all the workers and toilers self-sacrificingly to defend the U. S. S. R. against counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet power from imperialist intervention."

Mr. Rosser, you were explaining to the committee how the Communist Party translated its teachings into actual practice as you observed it during your vast experience in the Communist Party. I think you have arrived at the point where you were beginning to discuss the united front action of the Communist Party. Will you begin and proceed from that point?

Mr. ROSSER. During the year of 1935 Hitler became a threat throughout the world and Hitler's Fascist Germany was threatening the peace of the world. The Communist position was that Hitler was built up by the capitalists of the world to destroy the Soviet Union, and therefore, in order to protect the Soviet Union from attack by Hitler and maybe the united capitalist world, the important tactic at that time was not continuing to bring forward the slogan of "Down with the imperialist war," "Convert the war into civil war," or "Make an immediate revolution," but the tactic was to build the united front against fascism.

Dimitroff, at the Seventh World Conference of the Communist International, analyzed what fascism was and he, speaking for the executive committee of the Communist International, called upon the Communist Parties of the world, in each country, to unite with all people who were opposed to fascism.

In America, the first meeting I went to where there was a discussion of building a united front was a meeting called by the county committee of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, and it was made up of the top leaders of the county committee and the top leaders of the county committee of the Young Communist League, the party, and the YCL, and at this meeting I met a person by the name of Max. That is the only name I have ever known him by. Max was the international representative from the Young Communist International to this country.

His job was to see to it that the Young Communist League was built. Max gave a report on Dimitroff's speech of building the united front, and then in just a few words, it was that the Communist Party must dress itself up; it must go into all types of organizations, besides penetrating into the unions and into the basic industries. It must penetrate in all unions, A. F. of L., independent; it must merge the red unions with the A. F. of L. unions; it must work in the churches and in the fraternal organizations and all the civic organizations and must work in all types of youth organizations. It must work in all types of organizations of the Negro people and the nationalities in this country, large groups like the Germans and the Yugoslavs and Polish and the Mexican people, and in all this work it must raise the slogan of the dangers of fascism, the question of uniting against fascism, the question of helping to destroy fascism, and at the same time point out the role that the Soviet Union was playing in the worldwide scale of fighting against Hitler's fascism, and also we were in the program of the party to take advantage of every situation.

At that time I was given a definite assignment to work completely within the Young Communist League. My job was to build among the Negroes and the Negro community all types of organizations that could rally the Negro young people in the fight against fascism. We gave up the slogan of freedom of the Negro people, the right of people, the slogan of rebellion, and brought our new slogan of the

united front, of the partial demands for the Negro people, jobs for Negro youth, indiscrimination in schools, parks, and playgrounds in the Negro community, all kinds of sports teams, and we built these types of organizations. But on the broader scale, the united front gave the Communist Party the opportunity to penetrate deeply into the American organizations, and it gave the party an opportunity to expand, and the Young Communist League, in the broader sense than it ever had before.

For example, in the unemployed movement, before the whole drive had been unemployed; the councils had dealt mainly with the working class. But in the united front area the unemployed movement, there were two groups. There was the unemployed councils by the Communists and the unemployed leagues that were led by the Socialist Party. The party maneuvered a merger, and a member of the national committee of the party became head of the Workers' Alliance, and they not only organized the workers, and the workers on WPA, but they also organized the unemployed teachers into a professional section of the Workers' Alliance, unemployed, all types of unemployed skilled people, intellectuals, professional people, and in the Negro community we organized the National Negro Congress, which was headed by some of the most prominent Negroes in California, and this organization was for democracy and down with fascism.

During this time 2 things happened. One was that the Communist Party took advantage of the whole question of Ethiopia. Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia, and I had the job of building the Friends of Ethiopia in the Negro community of youth leaders and adult leaders, and we built a broad Communist-front organization called the Friends of Ethiopia, and our job was to see to it that the whole community—not just the Negro community, but the whole community, Negro and white—participated in a campaign to the Government urging the Government to stop shipment of oil, ammunition, war materials, food, to Italy, because it was all being used against the Ethiopian people. In our propaganda campaign we pointed out that the Soviet Union was the one nation in the world that was taking the leadership in the fight for the freedom of Ethiopia, of throwing the Italians out of Ethiopia and calling for the quarantining of Italy.

At a meeting of this organization to aid Ethiopia, when we were discussing the Communist-proposed picketing of the Italian consul in Los Angeles, one of the members, a non-Communist Negro leader in Los Angeles, head of an important group, got up and said that before we voted on this question of picketing the consul, that he wanted to read a letter that he got from his organization in New York, the head office, and a clipping from the New York Times, and he read the letter, a short letter, saying that—

I sent you this clipping because I thought you would be interested. We had the same problem in New York.

So he read the clipping, and the clipping said that it had been brought to the attention that the Soviet Union was selling chemicals and war materials to Italy, which was being used against the Ethiopians, and of course you can understand what this raised in the committee, and of course we Communists tried to raise objections, but this in Los Angeles and all over the country wrecked in a way

the attempts of the party to build the Soviet Union as the leader of the darker races.

During the united-front period we had the civil war in Spain, and the party took advantage of this, and I had the assignment of recruiting young members of the Young Communist League, Negroes, to go to Spain, and we used the whole theory that Franco was a Fascist, and this was the beginning of a war against fascism, and I personally recruited quite a few young Negroes who went to Spain, who were sent to Spain by the Communist Party, and some of them died in Spain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you a moment there. The committee at this time is investigating other instances of a similar character, and the committee has been very much interested in learning how passports were obtained for use by these recruits to the war in Spain. Did you have any direct connection with anything of that kind?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, my job, I would convince a young Negro to go Spain—this was in 1936—and at the same time there was the seamen's strike going on, and I went down to San Pedro, and I was able to recruit quite a few Negro seamen, and after I convinced them to go to Spain and fight, then I would take them to the office of the Young Communist League to Mr. Jack Olsen, then the county organizer of the Young Communist League, who took them over to another office to see a man by the name of Lightner. As far as the passports, I had nothing to do with that. My only job was to recruit them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of how they procured passports, whether under their own names, or how it was done?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I think some of them procured passports under their own names, saying they were going over as students. Some used passports that other people were able to get, and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Mr. ROSSER. The united-front period, as I said, gave the Young Communist League and the party an opportunity to broaden out. We worked with all kinds of people, had all kinds of meetings, and we recruited, and during the building of the united front the party carried on a campaign. The party leadership nationally and the Young Communist League saw that although we were building this big front against fascism, and we had the American people on the move, educating them for a hatred of fascism, we were not bringing out the face as a party. So the party during this period called for an independent role in the party; they called for the party clubs in the neighborhood to not only build the front against fascism, but at the same time in their own name come out for clean streets—the Communists are for clean streets; the Communists are for playgrounds; the Communists in the factory—if they were in the trade-union movement—are for better conditions, make \$1.25 an hour, or safety, or those things. So the workers could see it was the Communists who were leading this fight. In that way the Communists could recruit, as they say in the parties, the best elements into the Communist Party.

During the united-front period, although the party had dropped its ultimate aim for the time being because Hitler had to be destroyed—and that is the violent overthrow of this country—the party carried on

within the Communist Party itself a terrific campaign of education of Communist Party members. The Communist Party organized classes and all kinds of discussion groups on the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and the Communist Party expanded its schools and its workers schools, all types of schools, in order to attract people, and this gave the party an opportunity to educate thousands of Communists during this period, and at the same time, the united-front period, which was a period that they got from Lenin's books of how to retreat—Lenin taught the Communists in 1905, when the revolution was over, crushed, that in order to safeguard the party it was necessary to learn how to retreat. So when Hitler came into power and the party felt that Hitler was a tool of the capitalist world and they would move toward the Soviet Union, they retreated a step, gave up for the time being—didn't give it up completely—the liberation of the Negro people slogan and the fight for the ultimate aim and brought out the slogan for the end of facism, down with facism, and defense of the Soviet Union. But at the height of this movement Stalin made a pact with Hitler in 1939, and overnight—

Mr. TAVENNER. It was August 1939?

Mr. ROSSER. August 3—and overnight the Communist Party changed back to revolution. The party in a meeting that I attended—the party's position was that the struggle going on in Europe between Germany and France and England was a phony war and that at any day it might be switched, and they all together move toward the Soviet Union, and therefore the Communist Party in the Soviet Union made a pact with Hitler which was a pact to gain time, to gear up its defenses and mobilize itself if such a war would come, but in America the Communist Party's job in the meeting was to build a big antiwar movement. The main job of this movement, the basis, was defense of the Soviet Union, but the main catch to mobilize the American people was the slogan that this was not our war, keep America out of the war; the Negro people have no stake in this war.

In a top meeting that I attended there the party laid down the line. I at that time had an assignment from the Communist Party in the Workers' Alliance. I was one of the field organizers. My job at that time was to organize and mobilize and lead huge demonstrations every day, anywhere we could lead them, with thousands of unemployed people, on the question that we want bread and not bullets.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ROSSER. The unemployed movement demonstrated all over. I was a part of a hunger march to Sacramento, and this big demonstration of the unemployed was a part of the party strategy to educate the people against war.

In the unions the party's position was to foment slowdowns, to convince the workers in the unions and the factories that this was not their war, and to foment strikes. I sat in the meeting of the party leadership on the North American strike in Los Angeles.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Rosser, at this meeting you mentioned where the party line was laid down. Can you tell the committee who laid the party line down, and if you know, how the party line was first originated or where it originated?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, when Stalin made the pact with the Soviet Union, it stunned the Communist Party, and for days the party locally did

not make a statement, but the national committee of the Communist Party made a statement, and then through the party's methods of communications with the Communist International, they finally got the right answer that the war was a phony war, and the protection of the Soviet Union, and to give the Soviet Union a breathing spell in order to arm itself against Hitler—the national committee issued this proclamation, and then this came down to the State committee of California, came down to the county committee of Los Angeles, and then from the county committee it went down into—that is the way the line was laid down.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have any information or knowledge as to how the party line was handed down from the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. ROSSER. I do not.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this: The witness has repeatedly referred to the period of the united front. Are you able, Mr. Rosser, to fix that period in years or months? In other words, to what do you refer as the period of the united front?

Mr. ROSSER. 1935 to August 1939. In the meeting where we met on the North American strike it was brought out that the Government, the Roosevelt government, was going to bring in the Army to break the strike, but the party's position was that whether they brought the Army or not, this strike served notice that if the party had the correct tactics, the working class would follow them, and this strike was a strike that the party pulled in order to slow down the production of airplanes in southern California.

Further, at that time our work among the Negro people was that the Negroes in southern California especially—and northern—saw an opportunity to get jobs. They had been denied jobs in a lot of the industries of California and the Negro people saw an opportunity to move in the industry. The Communist Party, in order to mobilize the Negro people against the war—No. 1, we sabotaged every effort of the Negro people on a "build the jobs" movement through the unions, every effort of the non-Communist trade unions to fight for the rights of Negroes on jobs during that Hitler-Stalin pact. We sabotaged every effort of the Negro leaders on a "build the jobs" movement. Further than that, in our propaganda to the Negroes we said that they had no stake in this war, that there was no difference between England and France, who had colonies and who exploited the Africans and the Indians, and Nazi Germany, Fascist Germany who also exploited the colored races. We called upon the Negroes not to give blood to the Red Cross because they segregated the blood. We called upon the Negro youth not to answer the draft call if there was a draft, because the Army was segregated. Through all this work and all this antiwar activities, at the same time we expanded the teachings of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union because the hard core of the Communist Party knew that the thing that they had been talking about for years looked like it was at hand. That the capitalist would was going to attack the Soviet Union, and if the capitalist world, America and England, joined with Hitler and marched east, the Communists must be ready in this country during the Stalin-Hitler pact to lead the American working class in an all-out fight to turn their own guns against their own leaders.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did a change develop in the policy?

Mr. ROSSER. As we were pushing this policy right after the meeting on the North American strike a few days later, Hitler moved east and invaded the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Before you go into that, at the time of the North American strike did any higher officials of the Communist Party commit themselves in any way upon the success of that strike as to what it meant to the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the top officials at the meeting I was at were Matt Pelman, Paul Kline; they were the organizers. They said that it was a part of the Communist strategy at that time to fight against the war. The North American strike was not the only strike that the Communists pulled throughout the State of California. In southern California we had the Vultee strike also in aircraft.

Mr. TAVENNER. Pardon the interruption. Just proceed.

Mr. ROSSER. That is the end.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, one question. Mr. Rosser, before leaving the period of the united front, I would like to clarify my own understanding of one piece of your testimony which I think is extremely important.

Did I understand you to say that when the sincere efforts of non-Communist Negro leaders were directed toward alleviating unemployment, toward creating a better situation, that those efforts were deliberately sabotaged by the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right. They were deliberately sabotaged during this effort. The only thing that the party had to hold the Negroes in the antiwar camp was the question of jobs, and——

Mr. JACKSON. As long as they could keep them jobless and keep them hungry, they were much easier to control?

Mr. ROSSER. To propagandize to, that is right. In the period of the united front, on the question of the expansion and how it worked, there was a meeting of the county convention in Los Angeles in 1937, and the Young Communist League introduced a resolution at that convention, to show you how they expand. In that resolution the Young Communist League pointed out that they would help organize the CIO; they would build all types of support organizations in the CIO; and then at the State convention in 1938 in Frisco, we had a meeting on the united front. This convention was presided over by William Schneiderman. I was on one of the committees there——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment, please. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence the resolutions and proposals as adopted by the Canada convention in 1937 alluded to by the witness and have it marked "Rosser Exhibit No. 9," and also the proceedings of the California convention in 1938, to which the witness has just referred, and have it marked "Rosser Exhibit No. 10."

Mr. JACKSON. Without objection the exhibits referred to will be received.

(Photostat of resolutions and proposals adopted by the Canada convention in 1937 was received in evidence as Rosser exhibit No. 9; photostat of proceedings of California convention in 1938 was received in evidence as Rosser exhibit No. 10.)

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 9

R E S O L U T I O N S

A N D

P R O P O S A L S

ADOPTED

AT

LOS ANGELES COUNTY CONVENTION

MARCH 27, 28, 1937.

F O R W A R D

TO THE FULFILLMENT OF

THE CONVENTION DECISIONS

*

(Part 1)

PROPOSED RESOLUTION OF YOUTH AMONG THE YOUTH TO L.A. CO. CONVENTION COMMUNIST PARTY.

The organization of Los Angeles into a 100% union town and the development of a peoples movement against reaction will not be successful unless the younger generation is mobilized in support of these basic tasks confronting the people and our party.

Especially now the tremendous percentage of youth in the basic industries of Southern California, (auto, marine, aircraft, steel agriculture, needle, etc.) and with the ever increasing desire and mobilization of every section of the youth for action around their problems does this question assume major significance for our Party in Los Angeles.

I. WINNING THE YOUTH FOR THE DRIVE TO ORGANIZE LOS ANGELES.

Young people can and so play an important part in the drive to organize Los Angeles. This was most evidenced by the influx of thousands of young workers in the maritime, aircraft, and other strike struggles just recently.

In winning of the youth for the drive to organize Los Angeles, the Party must:

1. Help the YCL activities the many YCLers eligible for CIO and other Unions, and help establish YCL organization in the industries and shops. In the immediate future the Party must help establish YCL branches in Aircraft and Needle. Assist and give guidance to those YCLers working in places where no party exists, (American Can) in their efforts to establish a union.

2. Raise in the entire trade union movement the necessity for combatting the concerted drive of the employers who through sports, social and educational programs attempt to keep the youth away from the trade unions; a. by helping to initiate in the labor movement a program of social, recreational and sports activity. (In San Pedro a recreational center around the maritime unions; In Los Angeles sports and recreational activities around the needle trades, studio and woodworking unions.

3. Mobilize our fractions to get the support of the trade unions around the campaign and issues of the youth such as the Campaign for the California Youth Act.

Participation and support in the anti-war actions on May 30th support for the 4th American Youth congress in Milwaukee through endorsement, financial help, and for the sending of delegates from these unions with a large youth membership.

4. To assign all young comrades in trade unions as their major responsibility the job of developing youth activity and win in the youth for the trade unions. OUR PARTY FRACTIONS MUST UTILIZE EVERY AVAILABLE YOUNG COMRADE FOR THE WORK OF WINNING THE YOUTH FOR THE PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

5. In all sections to help the YCL become of real service to the drive to organize Los Angeles by helping to mobilize all youth and youth organization in support of all struggles, especially in the collection of relief, assistance on picket lines; help inaugurate a drive to win the eligible young people in the large mass organizations of youth for membership in their trade unions; and to get the assistance of these organizations in the organization drive to unionize Los Angeles.

(Part 2)

Southern California youth have taken big steps in the direction of united action against war, facism and insecurity during the past year. (Examples: The California Youth Act campaign involving organizations representing 50,000 LA youth; the movement for independent political action involving top leaders of church and Young Democratic organizations; The United Student Peace Committee preparing for Student strikes against war; the campaign to aid Spanish Democracy, etc.

The Los Angeles YCL has played an important part in building these movements. Wherever young progressives gather they are learning to work with and welcome the line of the Communists. During the coming few months the YCL must strengthen its connections with the most important progressives youth organizations like the Y's, churches, Young Democrats, etc.

It must work to mobilize the youth represented in these united fronts, especially around:

1. - The Fight to pass the California Youth Act.
2. - United War Actions among the students on April 22nd; among all May 30th
3. - Fourth National American Youth Congress July 4th.
4. - Municipal Legislative Youth Conference after the Municipal elections;

THE PARTY UST:

1.- Assist by assigning forces to adult organizations working among the youth, such as the Parent Teachers Associations; and in assigning young party forces to the Young Democrats.

2. -By helping in all sections to mobilize all organizations and trade unions in support of these campaigns.

III. BUILDING THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Through the connections it has established and as a result of the beginning made in reconstructing the YCL into a mass organization, more democratic, trying to cater to all the social, educational, cultural and sports desires of the youth, the YCL has recruited hundreds of new youth and has doubled its membership during the last 8 months.

1. If the YCL is to hold its members and grow in size and influence further it must develop a more experienced collective leadership capable of solving the many complex problems. The Party must pay serious attention to the education, guidance and developments of the league leadership in all sections.

2. The Party must give real help in the reconstruction of the League and in the developing of diverse activities in the League by utilizing specialists who can give the League the rich life a mass young organization must have. (teachers, artists, musicians, dramatists, physical culture directors, etc.)

3. The Party must immediately strengthen its connections with and its guidance to the YCL comrades, especially in sections like Goodyear, Harbor, San Fernando, SP (where some of the best possibilities exist for building the YCL). Monthly joint meetings of the YCL and party bureaus must be utilized in aiding the league and to familiarize the part leadership with the problems confronting us in our work among the youth. In all sections a leading comrade attached to the Bureau must be made responsible for the building of the YCL with the Party, for bringing youth problems into the Party; and for bringing Party campaigns before the youth. Our slogan must be, "NO PARTY CAMPAIGN IS COMPLETE UNLESS IT REACHES THE YOUTH".

(Part 3)

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In order to co-ordinate and guide the work of the Youth Directors, the Party must set up a county Youth Commission responsible for work among the youth in LA county

4. The Party must as part of its drive to build the Party, also pay real attention to building the League; especially in the Goodyear, Harbor, and Industrial Sections. To set a quota of 250 members (new) by the Party this year. (some sections like Goodyear, Belvedere and Lincoln Heights have set a good example.)

If we are to utilize the splendid possibilities that exist for building the League we must guarantee that all sections assign all young people for work among the youth.

5. Our language department and our fraction secretaries in all mass organizations must guarantee that in and around all mass organizations a real drive is made to organize the youth.

IV. PREPARE THE NATIONAL AND STATE CONVENTIONS OF THE YCL.

In May and June respectively, the national and state conventions of the YCL convene. The Party must: (a) Carry through in all units and sections committee discussions on the issues confronting the convention and on the problems of party work among the youth. (b) Give concrete assistance to the League in preparing these conventions both in the discussions and in the technical preparations necessary. (c) Since the state convention will be held in Los Angeles in June to make May Party Youth month, in order to mobilize the widest masses of youth for the anti-war actions on May 30th and in order to utilize the convention preparations to bring the YCL before the broadest masses of Youth.

We just say that in the last period our sections and units have not done sufficient on this score. Very few leaflets have been issued, and the quality of our leaflets were not entirely satisfactory. This line of activity must be greatly improved.

1. Sections and units should issue at least one leaflet every month. Sections should concentrate on issuing monthly neighborhood bulletins on territorial and general issues.

2. Particular attention should be paid to issuance of leaflets, and bulletins in connection with the organization of the unorganized Trade Union Unity and support of the C.I.O. on independent political action through development of a people's front; the legislative program of our Party, the people's legislative conference, etc.

3. The Industrial Section and units must pay particular attention to this phase of work.

4. Holding as often as possible open unit meetings inviting non-party people. Open air meetings and rallies, open forums, etc.

5. Mass distribution of our Press and pamphlets in T.U.'s, shops, factories, mass organizations, etc.

SCHOOLS AND CLASSES

1. In 1937 we should hold at least one Full Time Training School (by October) and two part time schools (one trade union comrades in the Industrial Section) around July (T.U.) and December (general). To make possible these schools will take place as planned, each section should at once assign one comrade to a county wide school committee to begin the selection of students and collection of funds. The unit educational director should be responsible for this work in the units. The campaign for the schools should start not later than July 4th. With every section at once setting itself a quota for funds and students.

2. Much more care must be taken in working out the school programs to suit local requirements. Greater care of selection of students to assure the development of the needed forces: Native American Trade Unionists, mass workers, Negro women and youth. Comrades to be sent to schools be not simply those "we can spare" but those that need and deserve to be educated and developed for work.

3. Harbor, Goodyear, Hollywood and Eastside should organize classes on a section scale. Harbor should consider a full time section school in 1937.

4. Branches and units should organize classes or study groups for basic Party theory or study of Party documents drawing in non-Party people as well. These to be outside of unit meetings. Wider reading of Party press and literature by our membership must be fostered to raise the political level of our membership.

5. Special attention must be paid to developing teachers for our schools and classes to meet the ever increasing demands in this field of work.

(Part 5)

6. The Workers' School must be utilized much more than is the case now as a form of Party education. Each branch and unit should assign at least 3-5 comrades to attend the workers school, releasing these comrades of some other work to make their study possible.

7. For active trade unionists, unable to attend full time or part time schools, special classes, small study groups or individual study must be organized to fit their time conveniences or other requirements.

8. Special assistance to the YCL in developing people able to build and lead a broad youth movement. We should help the YCL to organize at least one full time two week's county training school and one class in higher education for leading comrades in 1937.

9. Setting up of county research committee to study and provide us with material of general and labor conditions in L. A. County.

10. Training of New Party members. Not one Party member should start his regular party work without having gone thru a new members class.

a) The establishment of new Party members classes or units in every section.

b) Holding of monthly meetings with the teachers of new members classes or leaders of units must be most carefully chosen from amongst some of the most capable comrades.

c) Teachers of new members classes or leaders of new members units should, upon completion of course discuss with each new members his further study and type of work he prefers and is best qualified to do. This to be transmitted to section and units and have definite follow up to effect these recommendations.

d) Older and better developed comrades must make the development of new comrades their special duty-- having discussions with them, encouraging reading, ect.

e) Special care must be taken in establishing new members classes in the Industrial section. In some cases, because of the danger of exposure, these classes may have to be organized on a unit instead of a section scale.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEADING PERSONNEL

The County Committee should have personal contact with the leading people in the sections, units and fractions by:

1. Carefully studying the functionaries in the sections, units and fractions, discussing with them their work, finding out whether the work they are engaged in meets with their capabilities and choice; their personal problems, etc. Find out from them the composition of the bodies they represent, seeking thus to discover more people for development promotion and work.

2. Holding monthly meetings with all functionaries in the units and fractions to discuss general party problems and work.

3. Leading committees should carry thru periodical examination of the work of leading comrades, where friendly criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings, comradely encouragements and evaluation of achievements should ensue.

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 10

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CALIFORNIA CONVENTION

MAY 14, 15

1938

COMMUNIST PARTY

(Part 1)¹

Mr. ROSSER. At that meeting in San Francisco in 1938 there were quite a few outstanding Communists there that I knew: William Schneiderman, head of the Communist Party; Oleta O'Conner Yates, one of the State leaders of the Communist Party; Anita Whitney, one of the State leaders; Pettis Perry, one of the State leaders; Paul Kline, one of the State leaders, the county organizer of Los Angeles; myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you one of the presiding committee at that convention?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I was. At that meeting I think Walter Stack was on the presiding committee. He is a trade unionist here in San Francisco; Al Yates is a trade unionist here in San Francisco—he was at that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Roy Hudson was one of the honorary presidium, one of the honorary presidium?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I think they named quite a few—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me hand the exhibit to you to refresh your recollection. Do you see the name of Roy Hudson as one of the presidium?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I do; Roy Hudson, it is there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there also represented there representatives from France, China, and other countries?

Mr. ROSSER. Representatives from China, Soviet Union—they weren't representatives, but they were honorary members of the presiding committee—from Spain, from China, from the Soviet Union.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ROSSER. This meeting was the last meeting that the Communists had on the united front, and as I said, Revels Cayton, a leading Negro in the maritime work here in San Francisco, was there—he is in the Marine Cooks—and Hugh Bryson, a leading member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, was there; Dick Criley, at that time the State president of the Young Communist League, a graduate and letter man from the University of California.

¹ See p. 3113 for Part 2, Rosser Exhibit No. 10.

ROSSER EXHIBIT NO. 10

Page 2

CALIFORNIA STATE CONVENTION MINUTES

First Session

ELECTIONS

1. Honorary Presidium:

Joseph Stalin - Soviet Union	LaPasionara - Spanish C.P.
Georgi Dimitrov-Comintern	Ernest Thaelmann-German CP
Earl Browder - C.P.U.S.A.	Comrade Thorez - French CP
Wm. Z. Foster- C.P.U.S.A.	Tom Mooney
James W. Ford- C.P.U.S.A.	J. B. McNamara
Mother Bloor - C.P.U.S.A.	Comrade Prestos-Brazil CP
Roy Hudson - C.P.U.S.A.	Comrade Laborde-Mexican CP
Kuusinen - Soviet Union	Tim Buck - Canadian CP
Mao Tse Tung - Chinese C.P.	Toledano - Mexican Unions
Chu Tseh - Chinese C.P.	Gil Green - YCL
Jose Diaz - Spanish C.P.	P. Perry - California

2. Presiding Committee:

Anita Whitney	Walter Stack
Wm. Schneiderman	Comrade Germanie
E. Hanoff	Arcus Reddock
Paul Cline	Al Marsh
Frank Spector	Al Moyer
George Maurer	Comrade Don
Comrade Brazil	Dick Criley
E. Richardson	Lou Rosser
D. Ralston	Harrison George
Emma Cutler	Comrade Salgado
M. Crawford	Sam Young
Comrade Nishi	Mary Butler

Recess for Meeting of Presiding CommitteeFIRST SESSION - CONTINUEDChairman - George MaurerREPORT

BUILDING THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN CALIFORNIA - by William Schneiderman, State Secretary.

Recess - 5 minutes

DISCUSSIONOleta O'Connor - San Francisco. Extended remarks on organization of election campaign.G. Ashby - Los Angeles. On coordination of activities in assembly districts.Bob Cole - San Pedro. On building the democratic front in the Los Angeles Harbor.Adjournment for lunch

(Part 2)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. ROSSER. C-r-i-l-e-y, Dick Criley, he was there and there were many other Communists that I knew who were at this convention. It was a State convention of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, the contention is sometimes made by those who advocate communism that it is a political party. I would like to ask you, in light of your vast experience in the Communist Party, is it a political party in the sense that we understand that term in political science in this country as distinguished from an international conspiracy?

Mr. ROSSER. No, it is not a political party. The party takes part in politics and election campaigns when they think that it is necessary

to promote the program of the party. When I say "take part," I mean as the Communist Party, but the party is tied up with the Communist International of the world, with the Communists of the world, and they use the politics to bring out the phase of the party, to bring out the program of the party, or to bring out some struggle that the party is interested in. The party not only works as a unit as the Communist Party, but within each of the political parties in America.

When I was the acting president of the Young Communist League for a few months, I had the responsibility of directing the fraction down in Los Angeles, a meeting of the fraction with the Young Democrats and meeting with the people who worked in the Young Republicans, and so the party not only works as the Communist Party itself, but it works that way.

Further, the party is tied up, and I think we showed it this morning, with the Soviet Union and therefore it is not a party in the sense, but it is a part of the conspiracy whose major aim is the overthrow of capitalism throughout the world, and of course, in understanding Leninism, Lenin teaches the party under all kinds of conditions how to work. You will see that the party in America does not work like the party in France. In France and in Italy the main drive is to elect people to the French parliament, the French Government, but in America it is all right, but this is not the important thing in America, but the party takes part as the condition arises as to how the party works. Sometimes the party's program in the election is for legal work there on the ground, but as a political party in America, no, because there are so many—well, the party has all types of organizations.

In a union they have the open Communists and then they have the hidden Communists like in other organizations. This is true all over. Right now the Communists have Communists out in the open, and then they have the underground.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, you have spoken of the purpose of the Communist Party through its instructions to the Young Communist League to infiltrate various organizations.

Did you participate in any of those programs of infiltration?

MR. ROSSER. Yes, in 1936 when in California we were fighting to make the party legal, it was decided in a meeting of the state committee of the Young Communist League that in southern California we had the best opportunity to establish a legal front, established either by the county council or board of supervisors or some governmental agency, and so therefore we planned to call a conference. We worked out a plan where we were able, through our fellow travelers and our people around the party who had prestige, to get the board of supervisors to call a meeting on the problems of underprivileged youth, and because this meeting was called by the board of supervisors, we had every type of youth organization in southern California: Baptist, Methodist, Catholics, trade unionists, YMCA, Elks, Masonic Youth, Boy Scout leaders—all types of youth organizations, and the Young Communist League. It was only out of about 400 people—there were only officially about 5 members of the Young Communist League there. One member came from Hollywood. He was a young budding actor. I was there, only as a representative of the county committee of the Young Communist League. We had a person by

the name of Elsie Monjar, who came from the Christian Youth Council, and a person by the name of Mort Newman, who came from the Methodist Youth. He was a leader in the Communist underground, Young Communist League, in the Methodist Youth, a hidden Communist.

At that meeting we were able to sway these 300 young people and the board of supervisors to set up a county youth commission. The job of this youth commission was to make a survey of the problems of youth and make suggestions as to what the board of supervisors could do. In the election of the committee, the county youth commission, I was elected by the majority of young people there as one of the members of the Los Angeles County youth commission.

Now, the main thing that this did to us, it gave the Communists an opportunity to use the official stationery of the Communist Party to really start the building of the California youth legislatures and other things in California. We sent out calls on the official stationery, and my name was on there, member of the Young Communist League, and all these other people.

I also worked in the building of young Democratic clubs. I also worked in the building of the Communist groups in the YMCA and the Negro organizations and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We maneuvered that the president was a Young Communist League member and so forth. I had quite a bit of experience.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Rosser, you mentioned the five members of the Young Communist League. One, I believe you said, was a young budding actor. Who was that?

Mr. ROSSER. His name was Maurice Murphy.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you name the others by name?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was responsible for negotiating the arrangements for this meeting of the board of supervisors in Los Angeles County?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, one of the top leaders in the Christian Youth Council who had contact with all the ministers and churches, Miss Elsie Monjar, and Mort Newman. She was a member of the Young Communist League; Mort Newman, who was one of the leaders of the Methodist Youth; and the people that they were able to contact, and some of the people of the Communist Party through the trade unions and so forth.

Mr. SCHERER. I would like to go back to that phase of your testimony about which Congressman Jackson asked you a few moments ago. When you said that when it suited the party's purposes, they sabotaged efforts to get Negroes jobs and accomplish those other programs which were for the betterment of the Negro race, what was your reaction to that at that time?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I was in a confused state ever since the national training school. For the first time since I had been in the party, at the national training school I came up face to face with that thing that they call Communist Party discipline. I had never met it really

before. I had heard about it, and I had seen people disciplined, and I had been in meetings where people had been chastised for not doing this and not doing that, but I had never really run up against it like a stone wall where all these people you felt were your friends all at once look like they are ready to shoot you.

Christmas Eve, the night before that, a couple of days before that, Bob Minor or somebody had spoken on the question that if Russia attacked, we went to war with Russia, we American Communists would have to turn the guns against our own Government, and Christmas Eve while ice skating I was asking Morgan Hull, the California Communist, and some of the others did they agree with this person on the position, the Communist position, that our first loyalty was to Russia, and he asked me back, who was I loyal to, was I loyal to Stalin or Roosevelt; was I loyal to the Soviet Union or America, and of course, knowing Communist Party politics, I quickly said, "Well, I am loyal to Stalin." So then Morgan Hull saw that we were going to get in an awful thing, and he said, "Well, let's have a Christmas party," and I said okay, and I had been receiving money from some of the top fellow travelers in southern California, Christmas presents, sent me presents of money, so Morgan Hull was getting his check from the Newspaper Guild—he had money.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean these Communists were observing Christmas?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, we—Morgan and I proposed that. So we decided to break—first we broke a decision and went down in the village and bought a lot of food and bought some drinks and came back, and there was about 25 Communist students at the school. The rest had been given permission to go to New York, and we had a party.

The next morning part of the control commission was out at the national training school. They held a meeting, and they discussed with us the breaking of the party decisions. That Monday they held a meeting of the whole student body, and the person that came out—I forgot his name now—discussed Communist Party discipline. He said that without Communist Party discipline the party could never carry through a successful revolution.

Mr. SCHERER. What year was this that you began to waver?

Mr. ROSSER. This was in 1939.

Mr. SCHERER. But you stayed in the party until 1944?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right. And so in my group they went after me for about 2 days to make a statement, and finally after hammering it home that I had broken a decision, that I had betrayed the Negro people and the working class, I wrote a statement, and the statement was that I, Lou Rosser, had broken party discipline; I had betrayed the Negro people; I had endangered the security of the national training school and betrayed the working class, and that any decision made by the control commission I deserved it, and that began to make me think.

Mr. SCHERER. What decision did they make then?

Mr. ROSSER. They made a decision that when I got back to Los Angeles, instead of going into a top functionary of the party immediately, I should work in the unemployed movement. That is a day-to-day, hard task that they made—

Mr. SCHERER. You mean, that is how you were disciplined?

Mr. ROSSER. That is the way I was disciplined.

Mr. SCHERER. Your punishment.

Mr. ROSSER. But it opened my eyes, because for the first time I saw me on 1 side and 49 other Communists on the other side, besides 3—there were 3 of us in this deal, and so then I began to think, and then when we reached this point where the party—

Mr. SCHERER. Let me interrupt again. That memorandum you signed, that wasn't true, was it?

Mr. ROSSER. What?

Mr. SCHERER. Was it true, that memorandum or that confession you made?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, at that time—that is the party's thinking. After I sat in a group and 6 people just hammering on you all day for 2 days—this line, "You broke a decision; you endangered the national security of the school, the party discipline"—finally I broke down and wrote the decision—wrote the—

Mr. SCHERER. You did because of that pressure that was put on?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I guess so. And then when they made this decision that we should see to it that Negroes didn't get jobs, it kind of upset me, and I got worried, and to show you for the records, if we had them here to date, when the Roosevelt Committee on Fair Employment Practice had its first hearing a few months later in Los Angeles, only 38 Negroes had been hired by the defense industries in Los Angeles, and most of the defense industries were under the control of the CIO where the party had an opportunity to stifle the integration of Negroes.

Mr. SCHERER. You found out at that time that the Communist Party actually was anti-Negro, didn't you?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I began to open my eyes, but when—

Mr. SCHERER. That was the first time you began—

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, it was beginning. I was beginning to become—

Mr. SCHERER. It became anti-Negro when it suited its purpose, didn't it?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. You learned that to be a greater truth—call it a greater truth—as years went on then, didn't you?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. This was about when? 1940, you say?

Mr. ROSSER. This was 1939 and 1940.

Mr. SCHERER. How is it you stayed in the party until 1944? That is what I am interested in.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, when Hitler marched on the Soviet Union, the party line changed overnight. The party said:

Every man and every woman, every child, must be used for manpower to gear this big arsenal of democracy. We have to see to it that the Soviet Union, England, France, are given guns, food, ammunition, given all those things that are necessary to destroy Hitler.

And we had to go back to the Negro people and say it is all right to give your blood to the Red Cross because this is a different kind of war; it is a war of liberation; it is a war of freedom; they have attacked the Soviet Union, and in the fight for jobs the Commu-

nist Party set down a rule that instead of picketing like we had been doing in 1938, 1939, for jobs, picketing organizations, we had to sit down over the conference table and use the power of the unions and the interested industry with the Government agencies to see that Negroes were integrated through the FEPC Act by Roosevelt into the war industries.

Mr. SCHERER. What caused you then finally to break with the party in 1944? Or am I going too fast for you, Mr. Counsel? Do you have that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, we would have reached it, but I guess since you are at this point, we might as well—

Mr. ROSSER. What caused me to break with the party: The party raised the point during this period of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union that we must fight for jobs, but we must see to it that the Negro organizations do not go out of bounds, and to give an example, the Negro press kept present, even during this time, that the FEPC that Roosevelt signed was too weak, Executive Order 8802. It didn't have any teeth in it, and Randolph, a leader of the Pullman porters and the Negro people, and Walter White kept pushing for Roosevelt to put teeth in it, and the Negro press carried a campaign of double V: victory at home and victory abroad. This double V program. The party got sore because the party was carrying a program of open the second front, and the party felt that the program of these Negro leaders and the Negro press—the leaders of America would think that the Communists were pushing these programs. So in a meeting of the Negro commission in southern California it was decided that, and I am sure this came from New York, we should put pressure on the Negro press by getting prominent Negroes to write to Roosevelt and to the Justice Department that the Negro press was inflammatory, and it was dividing the war effort; it was against the war effort.

Randolph had threatened to march on Washington during the Hitler pact. He had threatened to march a hundred thousand Negroes to Washington if they didn't sign an FEPC, and after they got it, he threatened again to get teeth in it. The Communist Party said that he had to be muzzled, and he was coming to Los Angeles in 1942, and I and Pettis Perry were given the job of working out a plan how we could discredit Randolph, which the—

Mr. SCHERER. Randolph was a Negro?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, a top Negro. So he was getting a medal that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People give each year to some outstanding American Negro, white, or any nationality in the field of human relations, and he was getting it for his work of integration of Negroes into industry, and we found out that a fellow traveler, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, was speaking the night before he was speaking. Mrs. Bass' nephew, who was a writer on the paper—she has a paper—had a paper, rather, the California Eagle—was a member of the Young Communist League.

We got together with him and convinced him to convince his aunt, Mrs. Bass, who already was close to the Communists, but not that close, to allow us to help with her speech, and she agreed, and we wrote a speech that praised the Soviet Union, that called for the opening of the second front, and that said Randolph was a traitor

to his country, that his threatened march on Washington was a march that would bring about chaos and disunite our country at a time when unity is needed, and she made that speech, and it created havoc. But it gave the party not only the opportunity to discredit this Negro leader, but it gave the party to opportunity to reach the top Negroes in America with the program of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Rosser, at that time you were probably as high as you ever were in the Communist Party.

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. After Hitler marched on Soviet Russia do you have within your knowledge any information concerning the attempt by the high officials of the Communist Party here in the United States to influence our lending aid to Soviet Russia or of contacting any high officials in the State Department or any other departments of our Government to influence our entry into the war?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the whole program of the Communist Party—and if we had the national resolution that—

Mr. SCHERER. I think it is important, and I don't think he is answering your question. The question was, Do you have such information?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I will give it to you. On December 7, 1941—we have to go to that—at Pearl Harbor we all became friends, and this gave the Communist Party the opportunity to carry out a program among its members of all aid to the Soviet Union, and the type of work that I did was through the unions. The unions carried on a program of aid to the Soviet Union, all-out aid to the Soviet Union. In the union that I worked for we passed resolutions of all-out aid to the Soviet Union.

As far as working with the State Department, I had no connections with that.

Mr. VELDE. While you didn't have any connections yourself, do you know of any officials of the Communist Party here who did contact our own Federal officials at that time or State Department or other department?

Mr. ROSSER. No, I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, did the Port Chicago accident that occurred on the west coast have any effect upon your attitude toward the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. You mean the explosion at Port Chicago?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. ROSSER. Yes. At that time I had reached a point in my relationship with the Communist Party—I had asked for a leave of absence from full-time work, and the party had granted this leave of absence, and I had gone to work as a longshoreman on the San Pedro waterfront, and then I was called into the county office of the Communist Party and told that because I had gone out of full-time work that it created such a stir in the party, they wanted to know why I had gotten out of full-time work, what was wrong with Rosser, and there was a beef between me and some—what was it—so the party decided that I should get out of California.

So they said the first step—and go east somewhere and work in the party—the first step was San Francisco. I came to San Francisco, and I brought my book and got a visitor's permit and worked on the San Francisco waterfront in August of 1944. During that time,

shortly after I came here, there was an explosion at Port Chicago, the ammunition dump, the place where the Navy loaded its ammunition, one of the places, and the following days the Negro sailors refused to load any more ships because they were nervous because of the explosion, the newspaper—this is what I got out of the newspaper—said and that if they didn't load the ships, they were going to be court martialed. So I went to the Communist Party headquarters. Louise Todd and Schneiderman was there and I said, "Why don't we do something about this attempt to court martial these Negro sailors?" I said, "Ever since I have been in the party every time something happens to a Negro, the Communists say, 'Let's do something.'" So Schneiderman looked out the window and said to me, "Rosser, what is more important, loading those ships standing in the harbor for the Soviet Union or those 50 men over there who are going to jail?" And of course I walked out because he made the party decision, loading the ships to the Soviet Union, and of course all the Communists did about it was write a few articles in the Daily People's World, and that was the thing that after putting all my experiences with the party's attitude towards the Negro people, coming from the days of the Scotsboro boys up to then, that I finally made up my mind that if I could get out of the party, I was going to get out. I went down to the waterfront, and a few days after that the party gave me an assignment. The party caucus in the longshore union told me that I would be asked for by the political action committee to work in the election campaign.

Mr. TAVENNER. Political action committee of what?

Mr. ROSSER. Of the CIO, to work in the election campaign, and sure enough, I received a letter from the longshoremen here in Frisco, saying that I had been appointed to the political action committee in the Fillmore district, and I worked for a few weeks on the political action committee, and then I went into a bar. I was disillusioned. My wife and I had broken up. The Communists had used her through those days to spy on me. I went into this bar, and I met a Negro Communist who, during the days of the Maritime Federation, was one of the top Communists on the Pacific coast in the trade-union movement, Revels Cayton. Because of this disagreement with some of the top Communist leaders in the trade-union movement who said that he couldn't, when the CIO council was formed in San Francisco, be a leader in the CIO council because the white workers would not accept him, yet he had been the secretary of the Maritime Federation here on the coast in San Francisco, he told me I said, "Well, I guess I will get on out of California and go on to Detroit somewhere and just head around." He said, "You are a fool. I would quit the party. I would go to Los Angeles where I got my base, and I would just end it."

I said, "Don't you know that when you say that you were tired"—I made a statement I was tired of being a stooge for Stalin—"that when you made that statement to Harry Wood, you were all the same as making it to Stalin?"

So I took his advice and went back to Los Angeles and put in the Negro paper that I, Louis Rosser, was no longer a member of the Communist Party, and I quit.

But that wasn't the end. I received a letter from the State committee here in California saying that they had written me a letter to Los Angeles, and I received a letter from Los Angeles asking me to come in, saying that they thought that we could patch up the differences between me and the party. I went in, and in a meeting of Pettis Perry, Paul Kline—these are the top leaders of the party—and Max Silver—

Mr. TAVENNER. Max who?

Mr. ROSSER. Max Silver. They told me that I would either abide by the decision of the Communist Party—they said:

Your quitting don't mean a thing, that ad in the paper. You can't quit the Communist Party. You either get out of California and do what the party says, or one day you will be a drunken bum. In 6 months you will be a drunken bum in the gutter.

And I told them that I was not going out of California, and they stormed out of the room, and Max Silver told me, he said:

Look, you can't beat the party. If I were you, I would go home and in a few days come in, and I will give you some money, and get on out of California.

I didn't take his advice. I went back to my mother and my home and made amends with my mother. I hadn't seen my mother in 7 or 8 years. I had broken with them and my family, and I went back to the church that I had been brought up in as a kid and I got a job as a porter in a bowling alley, and the Communists brought a delegation, some of them saw me there, and they brought a delegation to this bowling alley, and the management came out and told me, he is sorry, but a group of his patrons who had been coming all the time said I was undesirable, I was a thief, and he had to let me go; he was sorry, and he gave me a recommendation saying I was a very good man.

And then I got a job with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a labor secretary. My job was to see that Negroes were continuing to be hired, since the war was coming to an end. The fellow travelers under the leadership of this woman I mentioned, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, organized a campaign in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against me, and in order to get me fired they voted no funds for the job I had, and they couldn't pay me. So then this church that I had been around and was raised up in hired me in their welfare department. They have a boys' home; they have a free employment agency that 20,000 or 30,000 people go through a year; they have a commissary to aid people; they have civil service classes teaching Negroes how to prepare for civil service; they have a veterans' division, and I finally became the head of that, and the top Negro fellow travelers in southern California made periodic delegations to the pastor and to the trustee board of this church trying to get him to fire me.

He wouldn't fire me, so then we gave a big festival, an interracial choral festival, in the Hollywood Bowl. We hired a promoter, a promoter by the name of Stiller.¹ This Stiller was a Communist, and he sabotaged this, and the party issued a thousand letters about me saying that I was irresponsible, and so forth, and that is my way out, and that is what happened to me.

¹ This individual further identified as George Stiller.

Mr. VELDE. At this point the committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 3 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 3:10 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 3:15 p. m.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told the committee, Mr. Rosser, that in August 1944 you began work on the waterfront. Had you participated in any union activities prior to that time?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, prior to that time for a couple of months, or 3 months, I was a member of the Newspaper Guild. I had an assignment from the Communist Party to head the southern California campaign to raise the quota, the Communist Party quota, for the Daily People's World, and as an employee of the Daily People's World I had to join the Newspaper Guild, and I met with the part of the Communists, the Daily People's World group, that was a part of the Newspaper Guild.

Also, when I was released by the county committee to go to work, for a while I belonged to local 26 of the Warehousemen's Union in Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that?

Mr. ROSSER. Los Angeles. That is the CIO. Then I went into local 13 of the Longshoremen's Union, CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that?

Mr. ROSSER. San Pedro; and then I worked on a visitor's permit from San Pedro on the San Francisco waterfront under the jurisdiction of local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and in all these groups I belonged to the Communist Party fraction or group within these organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you a member of local 10, ILWU, in San Francisco?

Mr. ROSSER. Oh, I will say from August 1944 up to January 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. What connection, if any, did you have with Communists in industry which was not related to your own union activities?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, when I was the financial drive director of the Daily People's World in southern California, I met with all types of party groups and fractions within the different unions, in the Furniture Workers' Union, Warehousemen's Union, Longshoremen's Union, a group in the Fishermen's Union, the Utility Workers' Union; wherever the Communists had a group, I met with them, and when I was up here in San Francisco, besides being with the Communist Party fraction, I also was on the Political Action Committee and met with Hendricks¹ of the longshoremen, Dave Hedley—he was head of the political action there of Communists—

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the name?

Mr. ROSSER. H-e-d-l-e-y, Hedley; Posner, P-o-s-n-e-r—his name—Posey, P-o-s-e-y—I have forgotten his first name²—Communist Party member who was a member of the Warehousemen's Union and who

¹ Following the testimony of Lou Rosser, this individual, whose full name is Frank Hendricks, requested to be heard, and wished to deny under oath that he had ever been a Communist Party member. At this time, the San Francisco hearings had been adjourned, but it was explained to Hendricks by a staff member that Rosser had stated that he, Rosser, had met with Hendricks, not as a Communist Party member, but to discuss the Political Action Committee.

² This individual further identified as Max Posey.

was assigned by the Political Action Committee, Dave Hedley, to head the drive in the Fillmore district. That is where at that time the majority of Negroes and Japanese and minorities lived here in Frisco; also, had a meeting with Dick Lynden.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name?

Mr. ROSSER. Dick, Richard, Lynden; Richard Lynden is one of the officials of Local 6 of the Warehousemen's Union, either the president or the secretary-treasurer, I have forgotten.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now are you speaking of Communist Party members?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, Dick Lynden is a member—I knew him when he was a member of the Young Communist League. I worked with Dick Lynden on the State committee of the Young Communist League, and then I knew him as a Communist, as I said, when he became an official in Local 6 of the Warehousemen's Union here in the city. Dick Lynden was very active. He came from San Jose, and then he moved up here to Frisco, and through the party's manipulations he soon became the leader of this big union here in San Francisco. In my work also down in southern California I met an auto worker from up here over across the Bay. His name is Jack Montgomery; he was brought down and made the head of the Auto Workers' International down in southern California, I guess maybe for the State, and as the organizer of the 14th Congressional District I had a conference with Jack Montgomery on the question of the upgrading of Negroes in the unions and the policy of the Communist Party. This was after the Hitler pact.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then your experience with him related to a Communist Party activity?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Oh, yes. And I met a person that I worked with in the Warehousemen's Union by the name of Duarte, who came down to LA.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name, please?

Mr. ROSSER. I think it is D-u-a-r-t-e. I worked with him; I know him as a member of the Communist Party. I have been in meetings with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his first name?

Mr. ROSSER. I have forgotten his first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify him more specifically?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, he was an organizer when I met him for the International Warehousemen's Union, and he later became one of the top leaders of the Warehousemen's Union. I don't know what he is doing now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what nickname he was known by?

Mr. ROSSER. I think it was "Chili," I think. I don't know; I have forgotten.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date on which you became acquainted with him and knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. It was in 1943; 1943 and then in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he resided?

Mr. ROSSER. I don't know whether he resided in Frisco or in Oakland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give any further identifying information regarding him?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I was introduced to him by one of the wheel-horses of the Communist Party in the Warehousemen's Union named Dawson, D-a-w-s-o-n—I can't think of his first name, but he was one of the beginners of the Communist fraction in the Warehousemen's Union, and he is the one that introduced me to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to go back a moment to the period when you were representing the People's World in the campaign to obtain money from the various unions where you had Communist Party groups organized. Were you successful in obtaining contributions to the People's World from those organizations?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, each party group in each organization like the furniture workers and the utility workers raised their quota. Some of the unions gave money directly out of their treasuries, and some of the Communists—the unions set up People's World committees right in the unions, and these committees' jobs were to raise money any way they could to make up the quota that was assessed the Communist groups in those unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like you to tell the committee how the Communist Party sought to exercise influence or control upon a union through its Communist Party members, if you know, giving instances, and if you can identify the names of persons involved, give them.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, one instance is that of freedom of Earl Browder in, I think, 1943. In a meeting that I was in with Charlie Pfeifer—this is in Los Angeles—and Al Kaplan, Bert Corona, Lou Sherman—who is the brother of William Schneiderman—Lloyd Seliger, Herschel Alexander, we discussed how we were going to push the campaign in that union to get the individual members and the union to go on record to send telegrams and postcards to the President and to the Congressmen from southern California to free Earl Browder.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union was that?

Mr. ROSSER. The Warehousemen's Union. And the ways and means we would use would be to get this union to introduce a resolution in the CIO council. This was discussed thoroughly in the Communist Party group in this union, and then the night of the meeting, at the meeting we had it planned out. Each Communist Party member raised the question of freedom of Earl Browder and took the floor and explained and continued to explain until we made a motion, and through our efforts and our tactics, we were able to push through a motion where the union went on record to free Earl Browder.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were all of these individuals with whom you met members of the union as well as being members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. You mean the first meeting I had?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. ROSSER. They were all members of the union and members of the Communist Party. The only nonmember of the union was Matt Pelman, the labor secretary of the Communist Party, who met with us.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. So you had functionaries of the Communist Party meeting in secret session with officials of the union in an effort to

obtain passage by the union, in a meeting subsequently to be held, of the Communist Party resolution?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the accustomed procedure in endeavoring to obtain action along Communist Party lines?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, that is the practice of the Communist Party not only in the unions, but in every organization. The Communist Party in some organizations has more members than others. In other organizations they might have 300 members, a big organization, so in that organization they have what you call a Communist club, and then they had the officials of the union in a top type of a fraction. The officials meet, and their decision is brought down, and they are discussed in the club, and when it is brought on the floor, all the Communists are acquainted, and they fight it.

In a YMCA or YWCA club the same thing happened. In the Young Democrats, for example, when Hitler made the pact with Stalin, and we had to go against the grain in a meeting of Jim Burford, Joe Ayeroff, Keivetz.¹

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell it?

Mr. ROSSER. K-e-i-v-e-t-z, that is all I know. Claudia Williams from San Francisco—all these are Communists. We discussed ways and means to fight through the Young Democrats, the State and the counties, the whole question of the Hitler pact and why the Young Democrats should oppose the war. In the Negro organizations, the National Negro Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for example, the fraction meets the same way. If they have anybody on the executive board, they meet with the rank and file members, they discuss the party's program and the policy, and then they go back, and they carry through the units. In this way the party is able not only to push through the program of the party, but the party discusses the elections that come up in these organizations, and especially in the unions. In one of the unions I was in when election came up, we discussed it in the fraction, the longshore union—this is down in L. A. Coyne Young, Lyle Proctor, Baker²—that is his last name—Dean Hood, Preston Hill, myself, Utrich³—I don't know his first name—and Polkki⁴—this is a party fraction in the longshoremen down in Pedro, and we discussed the election campaign and who we felt should be the Communists who should run, and the other people whom we would support, the non-Communists.

After we discussed it further, then we built what we called a progressive caucus of those people who were interested in the people that we had picked, and through this progressive caucus the party was able to spread its campaign, and before the election we put out the progressive slate, and the majority of the people that we supported, the Communists, were elected. This is why the party raised the slogan of working, building groups in the decisive organizations and in the mass organizations of the people.

In this way they gained control of these organizations, and once in control, then they pushed—of course there came a time when the work-

¹ This individual further identified as Jules Keivetz.

² This individual further identified as Donald Baker.

³ Further identified as Harry Utrich.

⁴ Further identified as John Polkki.

ers—there were two organizations; the Communists have an organization within their organization.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ROSSER. And then the party reached the decision to abolish in a way fractions, and they set up what they call industrial units, and these industrial units had two purposes. In the fraction the men would come to a fraction and discuss the union policy and go home, but in the industrial unit they not only could discuss policy as the union, but the party had a chance to get them together every week and train them in the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin; and the industrial units have proven best because in training these people in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, it is not necessary to have the type of fraction they had in the old days because all these people understand how—most of them—to apply Leninism to the situation and what must be done.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the meaning of a Communist fraction?

Mr. ROSSER. The meaning of Communist fraction is 1, 2, 3, and 4 people or a group or more people who belong to the same organization or work in the same industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. But who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. They are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the members of these Communist fractions which you have described secret members of the Communist Party as far as the rank and file membership of the unions or other organizations were concerned?

Mr. ROSSER. Three-fourths of them were secret members. The party in almost every organization, unless they consider it really reactionary, the majority of the Communist Party members are underground. But they always have 1 or 2 well-liked Communists who are the face of the party who stand up on the floor as Communists and carry the party line, and they are usually the party whip in the union meetings and in meetings of the organization.

But in an organization like the Young Democrats or Young Republicans there are no open Communists; they are all Young Democrats, but they have secret meetings at the party.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. In the union of which you were speaking in which this group of Communists operated, what was the total membership; do you know?

Mr. ROSSER. No; I do not.

Mr. JACKSON. In round figures?

Mr. ROSSER. I do not.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the Communist membership?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, in the Warehousemen's Union down in Los Angeles the membership in the union was a pretty big union, but the membership was only about 15, and only about 10 attended the meetings regularly. In the Longshoremen's Union the membership was about 22.

Mr. JACKSON. But through organization and prior deliberations it was possible to guide the policies in large part?

Mr. ROSSER. Oh, it doesn't take numbers. That is why the Communist Party one year might have 50,000, and the next year they might only have 25,000, but they are just as effective. It is a question of applying the Communist Party line in day-to-day work, the correct approach of winning over the people, because the Communists will direct the revolution, they won't be on the barricades. But they will see that the people fight on the barricades, and they will direct it. It is not numbers.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question there? Do I understand the significance of your last statement, which was that these Communist leaders would "direct the revolution"—wasn't that your statement?

Mr. ROSSER. That is right, direct it and lead it, give it guidance through their understanding of Marxism and Leninism, but if you read the history of the Russian revolution, it is the Russian people.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, may I ask you this question: Is it a fact that they really believe that there will be a forceful revolution to overthrow our form of government? Is that one reason that some people enter the Communist Party, in order to have that opportunity at a later date in their judgment?

Mr. ROSSER. People enter the Communist Party for many reasons. Most Negroes enter the Communist Party because they see that phase of the Communist Party that is always yelling about Negro rights, wanting to picket for Negro rights and fight for Negro rights.

Trade unionists join the Communist Party because they see them on the ships and on the docks and in the factories hollering. First they holler about cleaning up the lavatories, our safety rules, \$1.50 more an hour, or shortening the working day. They don't realize that the Communists have another motive behind this, that Lenin taught the Communists that you have to use the immediate demands of the working class in order to gain control of them, so the party uses these in order to weave their way into the confidence of the people and to gain control of their organization, and in that way, to lead them on to the revolution.

Some people join the Communist Party because they are seeking a utopia. Others are frustrated for a way out. But I would say this, that leadership of the Communist Party in America is not a frustrated leadership. It is a well educated, well hardened, tried leadership, in strike, struggle, street battles. Some have been trained in Moscow; some have worked over in China; some have worked throughout the world; some have led demonstrations of a hundred thousand people on hunger marches, big unemployed demonstrations; some have led general strikes. They have done all types of organization. So when people think that they are dealing with a frustrated bunch of men and women, they are wrong. They are dealing with a group of men and women who have pledged themselves to build a Soviet America.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the object of the secrecy of the Communist Party in its operations within the field of industry and labor and other organizations?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, in the beginning when the Communist Party started infiltrating in the 1920's and the 1930's, it was organized in America and began to infiltrate into the unions and into industry. The leadership of the A. F. of L. was reactionary, and they didn't do too

much to help the workers, and the Communists were using the legitimate demands of the workers. When they would come out openly as Communists, they were blacklisted, and they were fired. So in order to carry on the work of the Communist Party and to stay on the job and in the unions, the Communist Party strategy which they learned from Lenin was to legally and illegally work, and this is a part of the illegal work of being underground, not to be known as Communists.

Mr. DOYLE. Many instances have come to the attention of this committee during its investigations where organizations, upon learning the true nature of the Communist Party membership of its leaders, have immediately outvoted them and succeeded in evading their control and influence, whereas if they had been known or open members, that would have been accomplished with a great deal of ease, but where kept secret it was impossible to fight.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, that is true. It is according, though, to the period that the Communist Party is in. In 1936, 1937, 1938, up to the Hitler pact, especially 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party had many open meetings, Communists in the labor groups, and Communists in neighborhood groups would put out leaflets in the neighborhood about Communist Party open meetings, inviting anybody to come in and bring their members. But once they started in the Hitler pact, the Communist Party closed. There were no more open meetings; the Communist Party immediately set up the apparatus to go underground, divided their clubs into small groups and moved in the direction of secrecy again in the underground. I will say this: Even in the days when they had the open meetings, there were thousands of Communists who were not open, who were hidden and closed Communists. I don't want to call his name, and I hope the committee doesn't ask me, but I will give you an example.

I worked with a young Mexican back in 1935 or 1936, in the Young Communist League. He was a student, and all of a sudden he joined the Communist Party, too, and the Communist Party started to develop him. Then all of a sudden he just disappeared, and he didn't come around the Young Communist League or the Communist Party any more, and a friend of his also disappeared, and they just became crazy about hunting, just had to go to Mexico every 2 or 3 weeks to hunt, and of course this person, was a courier for the party between the party here in California—lower California and the party in northern California. That is the way they do.

This person was put right down in the underground. He went back and forth. This party today is not known, and he has a very responsible position in Los Angeles. The party has all types of people like that hidden in the underground.

Mr. JACKSON. You say that this person to the best of your knowledge is still a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. To the best of my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Rosser, I do not want to go into detail on the 1934 strike, but I would be content with asking you to what extent the Communist Party was involved in that strike.

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the only thing that I can say about that strike is what I did and my work down in southern California. In southern California the party was so afraid that the Negroes would scab be-

cause the union had barred Negroes from jobs on the dock, and when the strike broke out, the depression was on, and a lot of Negroes wanted jobs, so I, along with another Negro, was assigned to build a committee of prominent Negroes, ministers especially, whose job was to educate the Negroes and convince them that they must support the strike and not scab.

Then when the strike was won by the union and over, we would be able to get jobs. I met in a meeting that I was in, after the strike, and evaluation of the strike was given to the top Communist leaders in Los Angeles, and some of the top Communist leaders in the union, Tom Brown, longshoreman, leader of the union; Coyne Young, Polkki—

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you identifying those individuals also as Communist Party members?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, Communist Party members, and they were longshoremen—Dean Hood; and the party functionaries were Lou Baron, myself, Pettis Perry, Betty Gannett, State committee of the Communist Party, and the other 2 or 3 I can't remember, but at that meeting a person, Harry Jackson, who was the international organizer of the Marine Workers Industrial Union here on the coast on the national committee of the party, analyzed the 1934 strike, and he pointed out to us that the maritime strike on the Pacific coast and the great general strike in San Francisco proved that the Communists in California carried out correctly the decisions of the open letter of the national committee of the Communist Party in 1933, and the fact that they concentrated in the basic industries in southern and northern California—that was marine, longshore, and so forth—and in doing that they were able to build in the A. F. of L. unions, the longshoremen, the Marine Cooks and Stewards, and those other unions, the revolutionary blocs, groups of Communists who were able and who had enough influence over the men because they were fighting for the things that the longshoremen and the men wanted; that they were able to lead the men into the struggle and into the path that the Communist program pointed the way, and that was the path of building and training them for the revolution, leading them against the war.

He said that the general strike and the maritime strike taught the workers how to hate capitalism and that the Army and guards were the tools of the capitalist class, and it gave the party an opportunity to show how, with a correct program of orientation of working in these unions, that the party would finally be able to lead the workers on the path and to a revolution in this country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify other members of the Communist Party who took part in fraction meetings which you attended in the area of San Francisco or persons that you otherwise knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, there are a few more I worked with in San Francisco. In the Young Communist League on the State committee I worked with Lloyd Lehman. Lloyd Lehman was a member of the Young Communist League, member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. The first name is Lloyd?

Mr. ROSSER. L-o-y-d, L-e-h-m-a-n. I worked with and I named Dick Lynden. I worked with Helen Wheeler in the building of the

California Youth Legislature. She was in the Young Communist League. I worked with her. I know Paul Heide of the Warehousemen's Union as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. ROSSER. H-e-i-d-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. H-e-i-d-e?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, Heide.

Mr. VELDE. At what period of time did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. ROSSER. I knew him back in 1942.

Mr. VELDE. And how did you know that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. I met him in a State meeting up here at the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. Was that a closed meeting?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Was this man in the union at the time you left the party?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, I am sure he was, in the Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. SCHERER. Is he still in the union today?

Mr. ROSSER. I really don't know whether he is or not. I knew Archie Brown. I worked with Archie Brown in the Young Communist League. Archie Brown was a very active Communist, and he was a member of the Longshoremen's Union.

I knew Harry Williams, a Negro Communist in the Young Communist League, who is active in the bay area, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should ask you if you know whether or not any of these persons have severed their connections with the Communist Party, you should say so.

Mr. ROSSER. I do not. I think that those are about all I can remember in the bay area. Earlier in the day I mentioned quite a few that I knew, Revels Cayton and Hugh Bryson, Jack Olsen; those people that I knew up here in the bay area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Kenneth Austin?

Mr. ROSSER. I don't remember at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think that is all I desire to ask.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson, do you have any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROSSER, in your opinion, and growing out of your experience in the Communist Party, do you feel that the operations of the conspiracy would be hampered, or would they be benefited, by the passage of legislation outlawing the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I think that knowing the Communists, I think outlawing the Communist Party would only make them screen their membership more and go farther into the underground and use different approaches that we would hardly be able to find them. For awhile they would be quiet, unless something happened to the Soviet Union, and their work during those days would be educating their members and building the party and building themselves into the legal organizations of the people and becoming elected to offices, taking the teachings of Lenin and doing a lot of things.

I think that the outlawing of the party at this period would be a mistake. I think what has to be done, we have to understand what the Communists are doing, is to fight with the minds of the people of the world, and I think the American Government has to develop a program where the American people understand the whole meaning of communism so that we don't have to go to this to acquaint them with the program of the party, because after all, the Communist theory is not just something you can just knock aside. It is up here in their minds.

MR. JACKSON. Do you have any recommendation relative to legislative action by the Congress which in your opinion is necessary to meet the threat of communism?

MR. ROSSER. Well, I haven't given that a thought at this time. I think one thing; there are a lot of ex-Communists who know quite a bit about the Communist movement, a lot more than I ever would know, who have had quite a bit of experience in the whole deal of the Communist movement, but I think that because the American public has not been educated to understand them and to accept them back—only a few—and because of the threat of the Communists of smearing them and the threat that they won't be able to get a job, they have kept quiet, and I think one of the things—because the people who understand the Communists the most are the ex-Communists, and in America there are hundreds running around who have worked in every department of the Communists, in the espionage, in the underground, with the Russian police in this country, with the whole deal.

MR. JACKSON. When witnesses such as yourself, whose testimony has been clear, comprehensive, and lucid, see fit to come forward to give this committee, the Congress, and the people of the United States the benefit of such a valuable addition to the sum total of the knowledge possessed by them relative to the Communist conspiracy, the committee has done everything within its power to be helpful to those witnesses and to make their social and political rehabilitation possible.

I can say as one member of the committee that I am most appreciative of your testimony; certainly the testimony relating to your own people and the role they have played in the overall Communist scheme of attack is well worth the time of the committee if nothing else had come out, and much else of value has been developed.

For my part, I want to extend to you my personal thanks, Mr. Rosser, for your appearance and your testimony.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

MR. SCHERER. Mr. Rosser, I wouldn't ask you the following questions except that you, yourself, voluntarily touched upon it in your testimony. You said at one point that the Communists had your wife spying and informing on you. Did I understand you correctly?

MR. ROSSER. That is right.

MR. SCHERER. I assume then that she was an ardent member of the party also?

MR. ROSSER. Well, she was a new member, but she was full of that zeal and fire, and the Communists, what they did—I didn't agree—they pushed her quickly into leadership in the front organizations, and then Pettis Perry visited my house all the time, and he had a study group with my wife and a couple of other people, and during that

period that I was kind of lax and trying to figure how I was going to get out of the party, he would always ask her, what is the matter with me, and so once I had a visit from a person—I don't know whether the Communists sent him, the FBI, or what, but he came and he said that he, a white person, heard that I knew a lot of Negroes who were sympathetic to the Japanese, and my wife was sitting there in my discussion with him, and my mother-in-law, and I said, "Yes, I know a lot of Negroes and Japanese, when they went to the internment camp, gave them hotels, automobiles, houses, and furniture," and I said, "The majority of Negroes feel that it was wrong to put the Japanese in the camp because the majority didn't understand that the Japanese fishing fleets were used by the Japanese as spies on the American Government," and so when I was in a meeting with the top leaders of the Communist Party, when they made a decision for me to get out of town, they said that "your wife said"—Mary Lou was her name—"that you had meetings with the FBI and that you discussed with the FBI the Japanese question of the Negroes who were sympathetic to the Japanese," and then they said she also told them the time that there was a Negro American named Harry Haywood. He was trained in Moscow in the Lenin school. He is the person who wrote the Communist position on the Negro question. He was at my house one night when I was just tired of the Communist movement, and so he asked me what was wrong with me. I was getting out, I was getting out of full-time work. And I told him—I was kidding—I said, "Well"—just threw it off—I said, "I am just tired of being a stooge for Stalin," and so he took it to the State committee and everywhere. My wife took it, and they used her in that way; everything that I did from the time I asked to be released from full-time work, she told the Communists.

Mr. SCHERER. You actually know that she informed——

Mr. ROSSER. They told me.

Mr. SCHERER. In addition to their telling you that?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Were the circumstances such that you know she did that?

Mr. ROSSER. Yes, and of course, if we want to develop about her, she moved to San Francisco later on, and she is in the Warehousemen's Union, and I hear she tried to—maybe a couple of years ago—tried to run for business agent. While up for business agent of the Warehousemen's Union, the party told her that she wasn't prepared—of course, they didn't want a Negro woman as a business agent—she wasn't prepared; she couldn't hold the job; she didn't have the leadership ability. This is what I heard from one of my friends in the Warehousemen's Union, and they pulled the pegs out from under her and wrecked the campaign she had built up to be a business agent of the Warehousemen's Union and she got sore, and now I don't know whether she is still in the party or not, but the thing she did to me, they turned around and did to her.

Well, that is nothing new. The Communist Party used——

Mr. SCHERER. Well, we have heard testimony similar, of course, before, but I just wanted to pinpoint the testimony because you sort of glossed over it.

Mr. ROSSER. On the question of the Communist Party making their members informers, during the war when the Communist Party was fighting to save the Soviet Union and we were fighting for the second front, the Communist Party had members in southern California who regularly went to the FBI and told the FBI of those people in the shipyards who made statements about, oh, "This is not my war"—you know, a lot of people said we shouldn't be in this war—any kind of person they wanted to get rid of, they regularly went to the FBI—this is a matter of record—and informed on those people. It is not only in the party, but anything. The party used anybody and informs on them to the advantage of advancing the party program.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Rosser, you are here in this hearing room without any attorney, without any lawyer's advice. Of course under rule 7 of our committee you knew you were entitled to have a lawyer with you. Why didn't you bring one?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, when I quit the Communist Party, I tried to stay quiet, and they pestered me so, and the church I belonged to, the minister of this church finally got tired of it. We were discussing the Korean war and the meaning of it, and he told me, "Why don't you just go to the Government and tell them everything and tell them that you are willing to cooperate with them and get these Communists off of your neck," and I finally agreed.

In 1951, I think, I went to the FBI, talked it over, and I didn't see them again until 1952 when they asked me to appear in the Smith trials. The reason I didn't bring an attorney is because I have mentally conditioned myself and made my mind up that I want to be a loyal citizen of America. I am an American, and I think—you can let the Negroes laugh because I think they should hear this—that the Communist threat in America and the way that the Communists now are using it—in Los Angeles the head of the Communist Party is a Negro. In the national office Pettis Perry, a Negro, is head of the Communist Party; all over America they are putting Negroes in the front fight of the Communist Party to try to show the American whites that these Negroes are the Communists and hiding the white workers in the underground, and in this way to stir up race antagonism and to try to use us in this thing. I for one feel and know that all the gains that the Negro people have made in advancing themselves to full citizenship in America were not due to the Communist Party. It was due to the Negro leaders themselves and the honest white people in America who want to see America give a square deal to all, and the Communist Party only used the Negroes as a pawn to pursue their own political ends.

When it was good, they would use them. When it was no good, they would not use them.

As an example, in the Longshoremen's Union that was controlled by the Communists in San Pedro for years, they would not let a Negro work in that union on the docks.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ROSSER. And even in the war when they needed men and had to put them on the docks, the Communists among themselves made an

agreement that, well, they didn't want to lose this union because the majority of white longshoremen, they said, were opposed to Negroes, so they would only give them permit cards so when the war was over, they could kick them out. And when we Communists, longshoremen, got up and made a fight and forced them to give the Negroes books in the Longshoremen's Union down in San Pedro, the Communist Party leadership in Los Angeles called me and other Negro Communists in, and there were 3 of us, and they kicked the others out. I was the only one who was not kicked out because we broke a party decision. I am here because I want to do everything that I can and explain to the Negro people and the American people the threat of the Communist conspiracy; that it is not a political organization, it is not an American organization, but is a part of a worldwide organization of Communists whose major aim is to, through coercion, through organization, through strikes, through capturing our organizations, through using one group against the other, through bringing about confusion in order to prepare an armed uprising and civil war and overthrow of this Government and establishing in its place the dictatorship of the Soviet Union, a Soviet Government. As we look back at what happened to the Jewish people once the Communists got in power in Russia and put them all out on that desert in Birobidjan, we can see—and they already plan for the Negro's statehood. They would give us the worn-out land down there somewhere in Alabama, and I am ready to fight against that thing, and it took me a long time to reach this, and I did a lot of damage to this country while in the Communist Party.

I was a very good organizer; I was a Negro fraternity leader; I could go in any Negro church and speak; I was welcomed by all the Negroes, and today I must say that I am still, since I quit the party. I am happy to say that the Negro community in Los Angeles has opened their arms to me, and I am a part of the Negro community, and I am not one of those violent anti-Communists who holler "Communist." I am one of those constructive kind who try to educate the Negroes to understand, and that is why I quit, and that is why I have no attorney. I don't need an attorney.

MR. DOYLE. Now, Mr. Rosser, I certainly wish to compliment you on your magnificently helpful statement, but you have mentioned many times the Young Communist League, and immediately I want to know how young and how old those young people are in the Young Communist League.

MR. ROSSER. I was, I think, 25 or 26, and the leadership of the—you have to understand the Young Communist League. They got them in from 14 to 27, 28, 29, but the Young Communist League is a training ground for Communists, and the leadership of the Young Communist League—there they put these young people, 20, 25, 26, whom they want to train. For example, I worked with Gil Green, the national chairman of the Young Communist League, who is now one of the top Communists in America.

I worked with Bob Thompson on the national committee of the Communist Party in America. I worked with Henry Winston, a Negro Young Communist League member who was trained in the Young Communist League who is a national leader of the Communist Party in America.

I worked with Johnnie Gates. Johnnie Gates was in the Young Communist League, was trained there. He is a national leader of the Young Communist League.

In California I worked with Ben Dobbs. Ben Dobbs is State leader of the Young Communist League. I worked with Celeste Strack in the student movement. She was trained in the Young Communist League. She is a State leader of the Young Communist League, and in the party, anybody who is a leader, a State leader or county leader, of the Young Communist League is also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, Mr. Rosser, may I ask you this: What was your experience, if any—because I haven't discussed this or any other questions or testimony with you—in the Communist Party with references to what pattern, if any, should be followed by Communist Party members in being subpoenaed before this committee? Were they to claim the fifth amendment? Were they to claim their constitutional rights generally? Or what was their instruction, if any, from the Communist Party headquarters?

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. ROSSER. I have only had one experience, my own personal experience. I was called before the grand jury in 1936 or 1937 in the Webster case. I don't know whether it is 1936 or 1937 right now. Pettis Perry—quite a few of the leading Communists of southern California were called before the grand jury, and in a meeting with the county leadership of the Communist Party I was told the only answers I could give were my name, my address, where I lived, who my family was, if I wanted to, but any discussion about the Communist Party, that was out; because I was an open, known Communist, I would say yes, I was a member of the Communist Party. The party members, they are told what to do in training.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned in your testimony twice that the Communist Party even tried to work through the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans. I notice you mentioned that twice. In what way did the Communist Party try to work through the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans in California?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the party has a program and in the Young Democrats, the question of building a Communist group in there, some of them were elected into the State leadership of the Young Democrats. The Young Republicans, the party program was a little different. There is a program of confusion, a program stating that the Republicans didn't have a program, blah, blah, blah, and the Young Democrats, for California especially—the party used the Young Democrats as a whip to push the party program for the things that the party wanted and to use them as a place where they could attract a lot of people who later on got patronage jobs in the Government, and so forth.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you this question: What, if any, to your personal knowledge is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the functioning of this particular committee—we will say the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives? What position, if any, has the Communist Party taken during your membership in it toward the function of this committee?

Mr. ROSSER. Well, I think the best answer I could give for you, Congressman Doyle, is the Friday issue of the Daily People's World. I think that gives the answer a lot better. Of course they mention the committee, but they jump on Mr. Velde, and I think that would give the answer of the party because you have to understand the Daily People's World is not just a newspaper. It is a directive to every Communist Party member who understands Marx and Lenin. It is a directive. When they discuss the Un-American Activities Committee and say it is bogus and baloney and no good and this and that, it means every Communist, wherever he is, must start a protest against the Un-American Activities Committee, and be it the union or Republican club or Democratic club or social club or PTA, after they read the Daily People's World issue on that, they know.

They have an issue in there on the Negro Wells, to free him out of jail. Every Communist who will read that will know that the job in the shop is to get one of those petitions to get him free. So the party's attitude on these committees—you can understand that—is that they must be abolished because they are going after the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. You did not mention anywhere in your dissertation the Duclos letter, and I am wondering if you have any opinion to give on that, or are you in a position to—

Mr. ROSSER. Well, the Duclos letter, I pointed out that at Pearl Harbor, when the party was fighting hard for the opening of the second front in Teheran, when Churchill and Stalin and Roosevelt met, and they agreed in December 1943 to open the second front through Europe and to give more aid to the Soviet Union and food and material, the party, in order to not disrupt this decision, took Lenin's teachings and used them. So the party retreated; the party came out through the party press and said that in this period and the postwar period, after there is no need for the Communist Party—and they discussed the two-party system, and they said they were going to dissolve the Communist Party and set up the Communist Political Association, and in this way the national leadership of the party felt that they would ease the tension of the American people because the American people felt that even though they were helping Russia, every time the Red army moved, they had a bayonet, and they had propaganda, so they wanted to ease the tension, that the Communist Party is an American party; that it is a party that wants America to win the war, and of course they were fighting for aid to the Soviet Union.

Browder made his speech, wrote his book on Teheran, and they completely—in the South they abolished the Communist Party completely. I was told this personally, that the reason they abolished the Communist Party in the South is because the Democratic Congressmen from the South, especially in the Senate, controlled all the main appropriation committees and had the most important committees that were necessary for aid to the Soviet Union. As long as they had a Communist Party in the South and anything would happen—Negroes fighting for their rights—the Communists would be accused of it, and in this way the Southern Democrats would oppose opening the second front through Europe and giving more aid to the Soviet Union. So they abolished the party in the South.

In the rest of America they set up this Communist Political Association, and it was nothing but a tactic of the party, but when the back of the German Army was broken, they got all our guns and ships, and they were standing there near the Elbe in Germany in the middle of Berlin, and then Duclos writes a letter. Stalin could have written it, but he had Duclos write it because during that period they also had abolished the Communist International. They said, "We don't need it any more." Russia said, "We don't give directives to the Communist Party throughout the world." and they abolished that, so through their system they had an information center, the Cominform. They had Duclos, the leading French Communist and one of the leading Communists of the world, write a letter to the American Communists that Browder watered down Marxism and Leninism; that Browder was screwy if he thought that there could be any peace between the capitalist class and the working class; that Browder's idea that labor and management committees would survive was a lot of baloney; that the question of the day is the revolution. And so the Communists then went back again, see; they changed their line, and they went back to the national liberation of the Negro people. They changed the organization, went back to the Communist Party. They took the Young Communist League, the youth organization, and made it the youth organization, and so forth.

Mr. DOYLE. I know, Mr. Rosser, that the practice of the Communist Party and their fellow travelers is habitually to attack anyone who appears before this committee who tries to help it, as you have. I want to ask you this question, and again this is something I haven't asked you about, and I haven't asked you anything else about which you have testified here today: You are not in the employ of this committee; are you?

Mr. ROSSER. Oh, no.

Mr. DOYLE. Never have been?

Mr. ROSSER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you offered any emolument or anything of value, either directly or indirectly, in order to come here and help this committee today?

Mr. ROSSER. No, no.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. I think, Mr. Rosser, that my colleagues have already summed up the knowledge that you have brought forth today regarding your activities in the Communist Party while you were a member. It was very interesting to me to learn the motives which impelled you to become a member of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League in the first place and the motives which compelled you to leave the Communist Party.

We have had a number of different reasons given to this committee as to why persons, American citizens, have joined the Communist Party and a number of different reasons why they have left.

Your very lucid dissertation on that particular subject is extremely valuable to this committee because we are planning to issue a booklet on the subject-matter which you have just discussed, the reasons that American citizens joined the Communist Party and the reasons that they left the Communist Party.

I want to join with my colleagues, too, in thanking you for appearing here before this committee and giving the valuable information to the committee which will assist it in recommending remedial legislation to handle the problems of the Communist conspiracy.

In order that you might be within the jurisdiction of the United States Congress, your subpoena will be continued until further notice. At this time you are dismissed with the committee's thanks.

Call the next witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I see that there has entered the hearing room one of our colleagues of the House of Representatives, the Honorable John J. Allen, Jr. I think the committee should be aware of that.

Mr. VELDE. We certainly want to welcome you here, Mr. Allen. If you don't have a chair and want to come and sit down here, you are certainly welcome.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Donald Niven Wheeler.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WHEELER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD NIVEN WHEELER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE ANDERSEN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. WHEELER. Donald Wheeler.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have a middle name?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes; Niven, N-i-v-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. ANDERSEN. George Andersen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your address, please?

Mr. ANDERSEN. 240 Montgomery.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. WHEELER. White Bluffs, Wash.

Mr. TAVENNER. What date?

Mr. WHEELER. October 23, 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, a statement of your formal educational training?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I attended grade school in White Bluffs, Wash.; high school in Woodland, Wash., White Bluffs, and Seattle. I attended Reed College in Portland, Oreg.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you finish your work at Reed College?

Mr. WHEELER. In 1935, and I attended Oxford University in 1935-37 and the University of Paris.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder, please, sir?

Mr. WHEELER. The University of Paris from 1937-38, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that complete your educational training?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how you have been employed since the completion of your educational training in 1938?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, would you repeat the question, please? I am sorry, I didn't get it.

Mr. TAVENNER. The question was this: Will you state to the committee what your employment has been since the completion of your education in 1938?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the first position that you took after leaving school in Paris?

Mr. WHEELER. Well, sir, I refuse to answer that on the ground mentioned earlier.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it the contention of the witness that a true answer to that question, as to all of the employment since his graduation from college, a true answer, would be incriminating?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I have already answered that question, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. You decline to answer?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question of the witness: Have you been employed since 1938?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Same answer, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you been receiving charity since 1938 in any form?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you independent sources of income so it hasn't been necessary for you to be employed since 1938?

Mr. WHEELER. Well, sir, I refuse to answer that on the ground mentioned earlier.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer first the two questions that were asked by Mr. Tavenner, and then as many as were asked by Mr. Doyle that you see fit so that the record may be clear.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. VELDE. I would like to do that one at a time. Of course I can see no reason why the witness should refuse to answer any of the questions that have been asked by counsel or Mr. Doyle. I see no reason why they would tend to incriminate you in any way.

So far as the question, can you repeat the question that you asked, or shall we have the court reporter read it?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I can repeat it. The first question was this: Will you state to the committee, please, how you have been employed since you completed your educational training in Paris in 1938?

Mr. WHEELER. My answer to that, sir, is that I refuse to answer on the grounds of possible incrimination.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer that question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment; I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. VELDE. Will you proceed with the next question, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. My next question was, What was the first employment which you accepted after leaving Paris in 1938?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Same answer.

Mr. VELDE. That is, you refuse to answer?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer that particular question, Mr. Witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you student or professor at Yale University in 1938 or 1939 after leaving Paris, France?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question on the ground—

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, as I said before, there is no possible way in the Chair's opinion or in the opinion of the members of the committee that that can incriminate you, so you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. WHEELER. May I hear the question again, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read the question, please?

(The question was read by the reporter as follows: "Were you student or professor at Yale University in 1938 or 1939 after leaving Paris, France?")

Mr. WHEELER. I wasn't professor at Yale.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were a professor?

Mr. WHEELER. I was not a professor, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you instructor at Yale University?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what years were you instructor?

Mr. WHEELER. 1938 and 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the field in which you occupied the position of an instructor?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. Government?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you say you were instructor at Yale?

Mr. WHEELER. One year.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was from the fall of 1938 to the summer of 1939, is that correct?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of your instructorship at Yale were you affiliated with the Teacher's Union, Federation of Teachers Union, American Federation of Labor?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds mentioned earlier.

Mr. SCHIERER. Well, Mr. Chairman, I can't possibly see, if this witness is affiliated with the Teachers' Union, the American Federation of Labor, how that could possibly incriminate him, and I am going to ask you to direct him to answer that question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the Chair concurs, and you are directed to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. I think the record should show that the witness sits mute.

Mr. VELDE. The record will so indicate.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. After leaving Yale University did you accept a position in Washington?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question of the gentleman: What professional societies were you a member of while you were at Yale; that is, professional societies?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. VELDE. Fraternities?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, fraternities, or intellectual groups or study groups; any.

Mr. WHEELER. I don't recall being a member of any professional groups.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you ever a member of Phi Beta Kappa?

Mr. WHEELER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Any other scholastic societies?

Mr. WHEELER. I don't recall any.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, think a minute. I am asking you a fair question. I don't think it would incriminate you if you stated being a member of any professional society, would it?

(At this point, Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. DOYLE. Don't you recall, or were you ever a member of any society as a result of your having won your degree?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Do you just mean at Yale University?

Mr. DOYLE. Yale or later.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I don't remember any such organization.

Mr. DOYLE. You have no recollection then, I understand, of your ever having joined any scholarship group or professional group to which you were entitled to become a member as a result of being a graduate of the University of Paris or instructor at Yale?

Mr. WHEELER. I don't remember any such, sir.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. May I ask, do you mean while I was at Yale University?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, the import of my question, sir, is this: You are a graduate of the University of Paris; you were instructor at Yale University. Now, I am merely wondering what professional or scholarship groups, honorary societies, intellectual societies, you were a member of as a result of your achievements in scholarship.

Mr. WHEELER. I can't remember a single one, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you ever, let us say, a member of the Elks?
(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Any service clubs such as Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis?

Mr. WHEELER. Not that I recall.

Mr. JACKSON. German-American Bund?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Is that asked as a serious question?

Mr. JACKSON. That is asked as a serious question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. The answer is no.

Mr. JACKSON. Silver Shirts?

Mr. WHEELER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Communist Party?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wheeler, according to the Los Angeles Times of November 18, 1953, there was testimony before a committee of the Senate in which there was read into evidence a letter from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, addressed to General Vaughn, in which it is said:

The Bureau's information at this time indicates that the following persons were participants in this operation or were utilized by principals in this ring for the purpose of obtaining data in which the Soviet is interested.

Among those named is the name of Donald Wheeler, formerly with the Office of Strategic Services, and then on the same day I find in the San Francisco Call-Bulletin of Wednesday, November 18—

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing). A news article datelined Portland, Oreg., November 18, 1953, which reads as follows:

Donald Niven Wheeler, named yesterday by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as once a spy suspect, said the allegation was entirely false and malicious.

Did you make the statement attributed to you that the allegation of Mr. Hoover was entirely false and malicious?

Mr. WHEELER. Well, may I see that paper?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I offer the paper in evidence, Mr. Chairman, and ask that it be marked "Donald Niven Wheeler Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. VELDE. Do you ask that it be introduced into the record?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted into the record at this point.

(News article from San Francisco Call-Bulletin of Wednesday, November 18, 1953, was received in evidence as Donald Niven Wheeler Exhibit No. 1.)

DONALD NIVEN WHEELER EXHIBIT NO. 1

[From San Francisco Call-Bulletin, November 18, 1953]

DAIRY FARMER SCORES LISTING AS SPY SUSPECT

PORTLAND, OREG., November 18 (AP).—Donald Niven Wheeler, named yesterday by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as once a spy suspect, said the allegation was "entirely false and malicious."

Wheeler, who lives on a dairy farm in Sequim, Wash., was reported by the Portland Oregonian as saying:

"Possibly the Republicans think the spy scare will take the public mind off the administration's problems such as the present depression in agriculture, the slump in foreign trade, and other current difficulties."

Wheeler's name was 1 of 12 mentioned as possible Soviet spies in a letter introduced as testimony in a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing on the Harry Dexter White case.

Wheeler was identified in testimony as formerly with the Office of Strategic Services.

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to state whether or not you were correctly reported in the news article bearing your name?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was the statement true, or was it false?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed in the Treasury Department or in the Office of Strategic Services at any time?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were at school at Oxford, England, was there an organization in the school attended by you known as the Young Communist League of England?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated in any manner with a branch of the Young Communist School of England or any other branch of the Communist Party while attending school at Oxford?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to correct my question to read "Young Communist League of England" instead of "Young Communist School of England." Does that change your answer in any way?

Mr. WHEELER. No; same answer, sir.

Mr. VELDE. You did have a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford, did you not?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. During what years did you attend under that Rhodes scholarship?

Mr. WHEELER. Around 1935 to 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you affiliate with the Communist Party of the United States at any time after 1938?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with the testimony taken before this committee in 1948 when Elizabeth Bentley was a witness?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not make a reply to the testimony at the time her testimony was made public in which you denied the truthfulness of Miss Bentley's statement?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not deny in the public press, upon the release of the testimony of Miss Bentley, that her statements were true?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Bentley, in testifying before this committee, described what was known as the Perlo group of the Communist Party, and after having so testified, was asked various questions by Mr. Stripling, then senior investigator for this committee, and made the replies which I will read:

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Victor Perlo turn information over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, he did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Information which had been obtained from people who were employed in the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; he or members of his group turned it over, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you name other members of his group before we go on with the Silvermaster¹ group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I will try to remember them. Allan Rosenberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where he was employed?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, sir; he was with the FEA.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know what those initials are.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it the Board of Economic Warfare?

Miss BENTLEY. It was originally BEW, but then it became FEA, Foreign Economic Administration. It was an amalgamation, I understand, of several agencies.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you name any other member of the group?

Miss BENTLEY. Donald Wheeler.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that Donald Niven, N-i-v-e-n, Wheeler?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know his middle name, I am sorry.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it Donald or David?

Miss BENTLEY. Donald.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where he was employed?

Miss BENTLEY. OSS.

Mr. STRIPLING. Office of Strategic Services?

Miss BENTLEY. That is correct.

Then Miss Bentley proceeded to name other members of the Perlo group; that is, other persons identified by her as members of the Perlo group.

Then later on in the testimony Mr. Mundt, a member of this committee at that time, asked this question:

The two who were named just before Kramer, you neglected to ask if they were Communists.

Mr. STRIPLING. Allan Rosenberg and Donald Wheeler.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, they were; both of them were Communists.

Mr. MUNDT. Both of them were Communists?

Miss BENTLEY. They were both Communists.

Then the testimony related to other individuals.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reasons mentioned earlier.

¹ Reference to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. VELDE. How could the acquaintanceship with any person incriminate you in any way?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I have already answered the question, sir.

Mr. VELDE. By your refusal to answer; is that right? You say that you answered the question by your refusal to answer; is that correct?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir; I refuse on the ground mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wheeler, I again call your attention to additional testimony by Miss Bentley:

Mr. STRIPLING. Going now to the Perlo espionage group, who turned the material over that that group collected?

Miss BENTLEY. I did not quite get that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was it in the Perlo group who turned the material over to you?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, it depends; whoever was coming to New York on business or to see their family or was selected came up.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you did not come to Washington for the purpose of collecting information from the Perlo group?

Miss BENTLEY. No, I did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Only the Silvermaster group?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, that is correct.

Did you at any time travel between Washington and New York for the purpose of meeting with Miss Bentley or any other person acting for her?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with John Abt?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time visit in the apartment of John Abt in New York?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Continuing with the testimony:

Mr. STRIPLING. Who in the Perlo group?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, I met Victor Perlo, Harry Magdoff, Edward Fitzgerald, Charley Kramer, and Donald Wheeler, Allan Rosenberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you meet these people, do you recall? Did you have a regular meeting?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, I first met them, at least the four I first mentioned, I met the first time in Mr. Abt's apartment on Central Park West.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet Miss Bentley in John Abt's apartment?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Major Duncan Lee was a witness before the committee, and he denied any knowledge of Communist Party membership on your part. In the course of his examination this question was asked:

Did he—

meaning Mr. Wheeler—

ever tell you that he belonged to three organizations which the Attorney General said were subversive organizations?

Mr. LEE. No, sir; he never did.

Mr. STRIPLING. He admitted, Mr. Chairman, before the Civil Service Commission, February 12, 1942, that he was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee to Aid China, and the Washington Book Shop, all of which were Communist-front organizations and so found by the Attorney General.

Did you make such an admission before the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that on the ground mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given a hearing by the Civil Service Commission on any matter involving your loyalty?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that on the ground mentioned earlier.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't that a matter of record, Mr. Counsel, that he was given a hearing before the Civil Service Commission?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain whether it is a matter of public record or not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. I can't see how that would incriminate him, whether he had a hearing. We could find that out.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of fact, you were given a clearance by the Civil Service Commission, were you not, and you were continued in Government employment?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the ground that I mentioned earlier.

Mr. VELDE. I can see no way it would incriminate you by getting a clearance from the Civil Service Commission, and so I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe it was one of those phony clearances, Mr. Chairman, that we hear so much about. Apparently that is the case.

Mr. VELDE. Upon direction do you still refuse to answer the question?

Mr. WHEELER. I do, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member at any time of the Washington Committee to Aid China?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member at any time of the Washington Book Shop?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Upon obtaining Federal employment did you execute what is known as form number 375 in which point 15 was a question which read as follows:

Are you a member of any Communist or German Bund organization or any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States, or do you have membership in or affiliation with any group, association, or organization which advocates or lends support to any organization or government advocating the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States?

to which you answered, "No."

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have information that such a form was executed by you on October 3, 1941, and that you did answer "No" to such a question. Had you at that time or were you at that time a member of any Communist or German Bund organization?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of any Communist organization at that time, October 3, 1941?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason given.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the record should show that the witness willingly answered the question as to whether or not he was a member.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record so show.

Mr. TAVENNER. The information of the committee is that before you were employed in the OSS, you were employed in the Treasury Department of the United States, is that correct?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. SCHERER. If the chairman please, I would suggest that you direct the witness to answer whether he was employed in the Treasury Department. How can that incriminate him?

Mr. VELDE. Yes; again the Chair concurs. There is no way that you can possibly be incriminated by your answer to that question, so you are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer the question on the ground mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. The information of the committee is that in your form No. 375, bearing date of October 3, 1941, there is this statement with regard to your employment between April 1939 and May 1940:

Washington, D. C. United States Treasury, Division of Monetary Research. Monetary economic analyst: Conducting research and preparing reports and memoranda on monetary and economic subjects and on other subjects for the use of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Is that correct?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Harry Dexter White hold in the Treasury Department at that time, between April 1939 and May 1940?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Harry Dexter White?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you obtain employment in the United States Treasury Department?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you give references in seeking employment, and if so, who were they?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reasons mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you deliver any classified information to Mr. Perlo for delivery to another person?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reasons mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you deliver classified information while employed by the Government to any person unauthorized to receive the same?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. SCHERER. What is your employment at the present time?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer that question unless he is an espionage agent for the Russian Government at the present time. Then he could refuse to answer it. Otherwise I think he should be directed to answer.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, I can see no way your employment at the present time would tend to incriminate you unless that were true. I don't think you want the committee to believe that you are an espionage agent at the present time, and I do therefore direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer for the reason given earlier.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you have a hand in drafting what was later known as the Morgenthau plan for Germany?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason given earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. The heading of the press clipping under dateline of Portland, Oreg., November 18, is "Dairy Farmer Scores Listing As Spy Suspect." Was that a correct statement which appears in Donald Niven Wheeler exhibit No. 1? Is that a correct statement of your present employment?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Sequim, Washington, S-e-q-u-i-m.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the State of Washington?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. What is your present profession or occupation, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reasons I mentioned earlier.

Mr. JACKSON. For purposes of adequate identification I think it is essential that the question be answered. I ask the direction of the Chair that he answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, you are directed again to answer that question.

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse on the grounds I mentioned earlier.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. When you were a student at the University of Paris or afterward did you travel to the Soviet Union ever?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question for the reason I mentioned earlier.

Mr. DOYLE. How many times did you travel there while you were studying in France?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I answered that question, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you study in Germany as well as in France while you were a Rhodes scholar?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the grounds I mentioned earlier.

Mr. DOYLE. The Rhodes scholarship of which you were a beneficiary is furnished by the United States Government; isn't it?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. The answer is "No, sir."

Mr. DOYLE. It was furnished by Cecil Rhodes, wasn't it, an Englishman? Is that the scholarship under which you attended the University of Paris?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I believe so, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Now that you remember that so clearly, is your memory clear as to whether or not you were a member of any professional society as a result of your scholarship attainments, or don't you still remember?

Mr. WHEELER. I don't remember any. I don't believe that I was a member of any.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you now a member of any such society?

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever been?

Mr. WHEELER. I don't remember ever being a member of any professional society.

Mr. DOYLE. What was your classification as a civil-service employee of the United States Government?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to ask again, Mr. Chairman, that he be directed to answer that question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; I can see no reason why the answer to that question would tend to incriminate you, so you are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was your direct superior while you were in the employ of the United States Government in whatever department you worked in? What was his or her name?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. DOYLE. What was your salary rate? What was your annual compensation when you worked for the United States Government as a civil-service employee?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you now occupied in any business or profession for which you were especially trained in your studies when you were a Rhodes scholar?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Tavenner, do you have any more questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, I have another question.

Were you employed by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee beginning in May 1940, extending for 7 years thereafter?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, for the reason mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the basis of your contention that your employment by a Senate committee might tend to incriminate you?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I stand on my earlier answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should state that it may possibly be my duty to attempt to test whether or not your contention is based on any real fear of self-incrimination as a result of answering such a question.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, in light of counsel's statement, I ask that the witness be directed to answer that question.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair concurs, and you are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Repeat the question, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it, please?

(The question was read by the reporter as follows:)

Were you employed by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee beginning in May 1940, extending for 7 years thereafter?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I stand on the fifth amendment and will not be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you refuse to give to this committee any information which might enable them to come to the conclusion as to whether you have any real basis of fear of self-incrimination to answer such a question?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I stand on my earlier answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed by Senator Wagner, who was then the chairman of that committee?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that for the reason given a moment ago.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you ever in Washington, D. C.?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct him to answer that question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; certainly you are directed to answer that question. I don't think it could possibly incriminate you to be in Washington, D. C.; otherwise there would be a lot of us sitting up here in danger of being incriminated, and therefore you are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer on the grounds mentioned a moment ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was not the Senate Banking and Currency Committee between May 1940 and 1941 or 1942 engaged in conducting an investigation to ascertain facts to present to Congress as a basis for legislation?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the reasons mentioned earlier.

Mr. TAVENNER. To answer the question of your knowledge of that you seriously contend might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. WHEELER. I stand on the answer I gave a moment ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually, Mr. Wheeler, you have just determined that you will not answer any question that this committee desires to ask you, isn't that the fact?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer that, please?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Well, sir, I am answering these questions to the best of my ability on the advice of counsel, and I repeat the answer I gave you a moment ago—I refuse to answer for the reasons given some time ago.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you passing any information to the Russian Government at the time you were working for the Senate Banking Committee?

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the grounds mentioned earlier.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have anything more, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I comment that I do not believe that the question asked by the gentleman from Ohio was at all far-fetched in the face of sworn testimony that the witness who is before us today did exactly that. It may be a very humorous matter to some, but there is some very serious testimony on record.

Mr. VELDE. Let me add, Mr. Jackson and members of the committee that this witness' testimony—

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Or rather, refusal to testify can only lead any reasonable man to believe that you must be engaged in some nefarious activities at the present time, some criminal activities at the present time.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. VELDE. I suppose it would be futile to ask you any further questions relating to your Communist Party membership or espionage activities as claimed by Miss Bentley, but let me ask you this one question, and I wish you would consider answering it: Do you consider yourself at the present time to be a loyal American citizen?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. SCHERER. Does he have to ask counsel whether he should answer that question?

Mr. VELDE. Well, of course, Mr. Scherer, the witness has a right to confer with counsel.

Mr. SCHERER. I mean, whether he is a loyal American citizen?

Mr. WHEELER. Are you asking me my opinion of my own status in the community?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. My opinion is I certainly am.

Mr. VELDE. I ask you then if you are a loyal American citizen, don't you feel it is your duty to give information about the Soviet conspiracy, the Soviet espionage system that has been operating in this country?

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to the hearing room at this point.)

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Well, sir, you have the power of Congress here, and I don't care to get into a political argument with you. I will answer your questions, however, to the best of my ability.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you answered the questions of the committee to the best of your ability?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I have, and as I have been advised.

Mr. VELDE. Let me ask you then this question: Do you consider that you were a loyal American citizen during the time that you knew Miss Bentley?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. Well, sir, it seems to me that question is one of the "Have you stopped beating your wife" type of questions.

Mr. VELDE. Well, will you answer the question?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. If you will break it up into its component parts, I will answer the component parts.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date on which Miss Bentley testified?

Mr. SCHERER. About his activities?

Mr. VELDE. Let me ask the question this way: Did you consider yourself between 1940 and 1945 to be a loyal American citizen?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. My opinion, sir, is that I was.

Mr. VELDE. Then will you answer the question and give the committee of Congress the information: Did you pass any papers, secret papers, to Elizabeth Bentley?

(At this point Mr. Wheeler conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. WHEELER. I refuse to answer that, sir, for the grounds mentioned earlier.

Mr. VELDE. Let me make this final observation, that your refusal to testify about matters affecting the security of this Nation to which you claim to be loyal certainly does point up the need for additional security legislation.

Is there any reason why this witness should be detained further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. If not, the witness is dismissed, and the committee will stand in adjournment until tomorrow morning at 9:30.

(Whereupon, at 5:20 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, December 2, 1953.)

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